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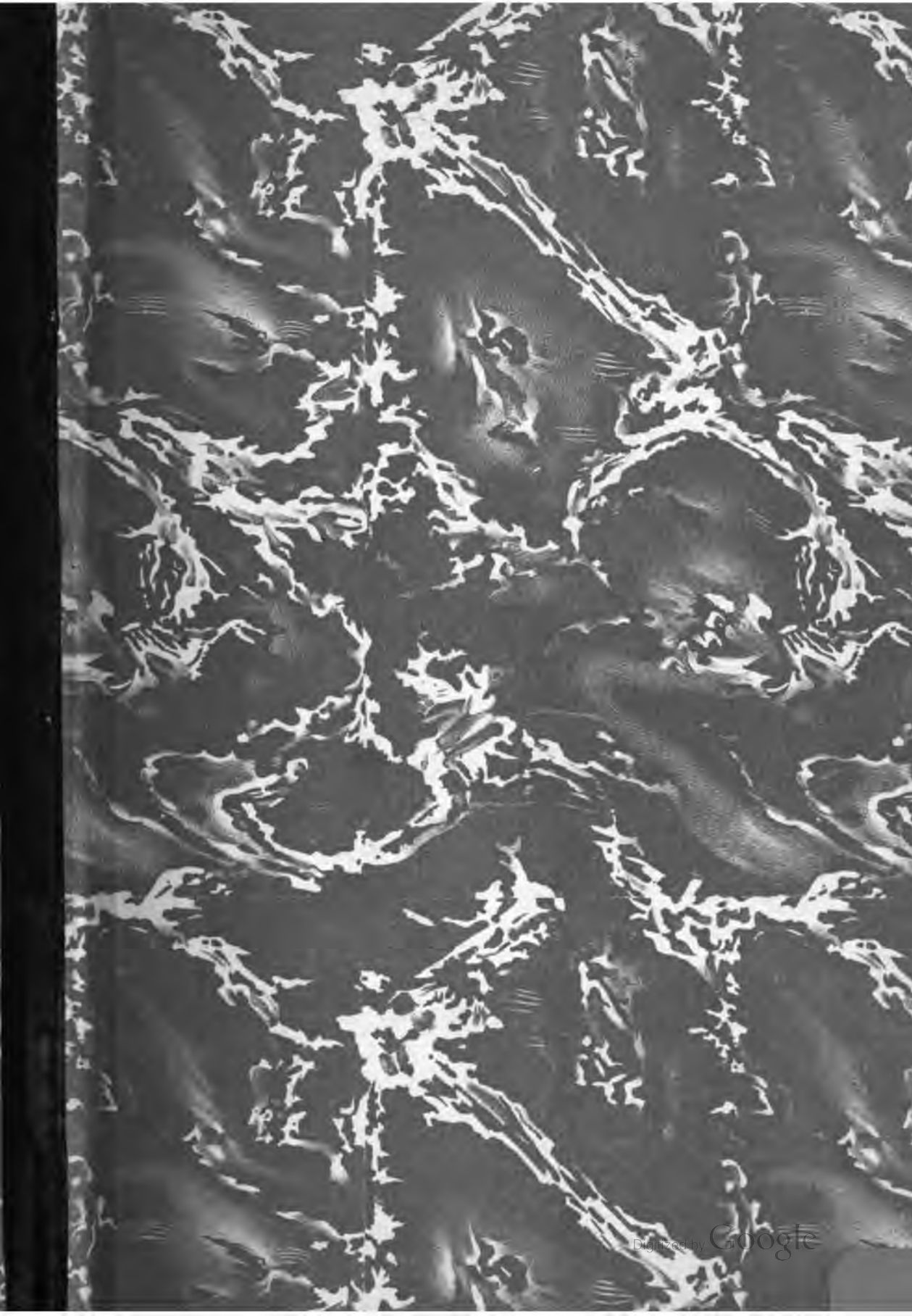
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INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. X

MARCH, 1914

No. 1

COUNTY SEATS AND COUNTY SEAT WARS IN INDIANA

By ERNEST V. SHOCKLEY, PH.D.

The location of county seats, or "^{the}county towns," as they were often called in the early history of the State, has been a fruitful source of trouble. Factions have arisen in these contests which not only disturbed counties but have even figured in State politics. Fortunate indeed is the county which has never had to go through the struggles incident to the removal of a county seat. The Legislature of 1913 witnessed such a struggle in Jennings county between Vernon and North Vernon. Fountain, Jackson, Spencer, Brown and Ripley counties are still agitating changes of their county seats.

The first county seats were located by commissioners selected by the Legislature, and named in the act organizing the county. Subsequent changes were made by legislative acts directly, or by a vote of the people of the county authorized by the Legislature. The first county seats were often at the home of some county official, and in many counties it was a year or more after the county was organized before a town was selected for a county seat and a still longer time before a courthouse was erected. The county commissioners frequently designated the cabin of some settler as the official courthouse until a suitable building could be erected, and in one particular case, Jasper county, the county seat was at the log cabin of George Spitler for two years, 1838-40.

The oldest county seat in the State is Vincennes. It was an old town when the Declaration of Independence was signed. In fact, there is much dispute as to when the town actually was established.

When Knox county was organized on June 30, 1790 by Winthrop Sargent, the Secretary of the Northwest Territory, Vincennes became its county seat and it has so remained ever since.¹ When Indiana Territory was organized, May 7, 1800, it became the capital of the new Territory, and retained this honor until the capital was removed to Corydon in 1813.

The second county organized within the present limits of Indiana was Clark. It was organized by a proclamation of Governor William Henry Harrison on February 3, 1801, with Springville as its county seat.² On June 9, 1802, Governor Harrison issued a proclamation "fixing the seat of Justice of the county of Clark at the Town of Jeffersonville in the said county * * * after the first day of August next."³ The territorial Legislature changed it to Charlestown by the act of December 14, 1810, and it remained there until September 23, 1873, when it was permanently located at Jeffersonville.⁴ The old courthouse at Charlestown is still standing and in a good state of preservation.

Dearborn county was organized by executive proclamation on March 7, 1803 with its seat of justice at Lawrenceburgh, the courthouse being one half of a double log-cabin belonging to Dr. Jabez Percival, one of the associate judges.⁵ Rising Sun was ambitious to be the county seat, and wanted to have a new county formed, of which it should be the county seat, if it could not wrest the honor from Lawrenceburgh. This struggle between the two towns was finally the cause of Lawrenceburgh losing the county seat for a few years. On September 26, 1836, Wilmington became the seat of justice, and it was not until April 4, 1844, that it was moved back to Lawrenceburgh in accordance with the act of January 3, 1844.⁶ Out of the fight, Ohio county was born January 4, 1844, with Rising Sun for its county seat. The Lawrenceburgh courthouse was gutted by fire on the morning of March 6, 1826, and all the records were lost.⁷ The second courthouse used the same foundation and walls.⁸

¹Smith, W. H., *St. Clair Papers*, II, p. 166.

²*Executive Journal of Indiana Territory*, p. 97.

³*Executive Journal of Indiana Territory*, p. 109.

⁴Capt. L. C. Balrd of Jeffersonville furnished data on Clark county

⁵*History of Dearborn and Ohio counties*, 1885; *Executive Journal of Indiana Territory*, p. 116.

⁶*Laws of Indiana*, 1843-44, p. 7; *History of Dearborn and Ohio counties*, 1885, p. 116.

⁷*Laws of Indiana*, 1826-27, p. 53.

⁸*History of Dearborn and Ohio counties*, p. 249.

This continued in use (with the exception of the eight years that the county seat was at Wilmington) until 1870, when it was torn down to make way for the present building.

The next three counties which were organized—Harrison (1808), Jefferson (1810), and Franklin (1811)—have never changed their county seats but retain them at Corydon, Madison, and Brookville, respectively. It is interesting to note that the courthouse at Corydon was used as the State House from 1813 to 1824. In one of the proposed bills of the 1913 Legislature it was provided that \$100,000 be paid for this old courthouse, and that it be made a State memorial building.

Wayne county was organized February 1, 1811, with Salisbury as its county seat. By the legislative act of December 21, 1816, it was changed to Centerville.⁹ The act was to be effective on and after June 1, 1817, and the last meeting of the county commissioners was held at Salisbury in August, 1817. While the change from Salisbury to Centerville caused no little dissension, it is not to be compared to the fifty-year struggle which followed between Centerville and Richmond. For more than half a century the location of the Wayne county seat was not only a question of local politics, but it even played an important part in State politics as well.¹⁰ The election of county officials, circuit judges, members of the Legislature, and even governors, was affected by their preference for one town or the other. The struggle was the longest and most bitter county seat fight in the history of the State. The Richmond advocates succeeded in getting several acts passed by the Legislature which furnished them a basis on which to fight for removal. While there were other counties interested in some of these acts, it was Wayne county which led the fight for their passage. These acts, six in number, are dated as follows: March 2, 1855; December 22, 1858; March 7, 1861; June 4, 1861; December 18, 1865 and February 24, 1869. The last Act provided that whenever fifty-five per cent. of the voters of the county petitioned the county commissioners to relocate the county seat, provided suitable grounds, and guaranteed the erection of the proper buildings that the commissioners must relocate the county seat. On June 3, 1872, a petition was drawn up and signed by 4937 voters to be presented to the board of com-

⁹ *Laws of Indiana, 1816-17, p. 216.*

¹⁰ Young, A. W., *History of Wayne county, 1872, pp. 81-83.*

missioners. William A. Peele filed a remonstrance on June 5, against such action, setting forth his reasons, and asking for a continuance of the case. A majority of the board refused to continue the case, A. S. Wiggins and William Brooks opposing and O. T. Jones favoring the action of Mr. Peele. On June 11, by the same majority the board decided that, as out of 6,842 legal voters of the county, fifty-five per cent. had asked for the relocation of the county seat, it should be removed to Richmond. The board thereupon ordered that new county buildings should be erected at Richmond if the citizens favoring that site, should, within three months after estimates were made, pay into the county treasury a sum equal to the value of the real property belonging to the county of Centerville. The petitioners immediately accepted the offer of the board. Governor Baker, on October 30, appointed Asabel Stone, William Wallace, and Simon Stansifer to appraise the real estate and improvements belonging to the county in Centerville. They fixed the appraisement at \$80,000, and on November 6, 1872, George W. Barnes on behalf of the petitioners for the relocation of the county seat deposited with the board of commissioners the full amount of \$80,000 in Richmond city bonds as security for the appraised value of the Centerville property. The board promptly accepted the deposit, although Mr. Jones objected. The auditor was then ordered to advertise for bids for the building of a new courthouse and jail. George Hoover was the architect and Thomas W. Roberts got the contract for both buildings with the low bid of \$22,700. By August 4, 1873, the buildings were completed and the commissioners ordered that all books, papers, furniture and occupants of the county jail should be removed to Richmond. August 15, 1873 was the saddest day in the whole history of Centerville, for on that day the removal was made. Men, women and children wept bitter tears as the last wagon left the town of Centerville on that eventful evening. They saw their rival of more than half a century finally secure in possession of the coveted county seat. Thus ended the most noted county seat fight of the State; a fight which resulted in bitter feeling which has not entirely disappeared to this day.

Gibson and Warrick counties were organized April 1, 1813. the same year the capital of the Territory was moved to Corydon.¹¹ The county seat of Gibson has always been at Princeton, the town

¹¹ *Laws of Indiana, 1813, p. 67.*

named in honor of Judge William Prince, who represented the First congressional district in Congress in 1823-25. Evansville was the first seat of justice of Warrick county, although it was far from the center of the county. At this time Warrick embraced practically all of the present counties of Posey, Vanderburgh, Spencer and Perry, and a part of Crawford. No doubt Colonel Hugh McGary's gift of one hundred acres on July 15, 1814 had considerable influence in the selection of Evansville as the county seat.¹² Within three months from the time Evansville was made the county seat of Warrick, Posey county was organized with practically its present limits. This left Evansville in the extreme southwestern corner of Warrick, with the result that the Territorial Legislature, September 1, 1814, moved the county seat of Warrick from Evansville to a site on the Ohio river subsequently called Darlington. Until the courthouse was erected, court was held at private dwellings. On December 4, 1815, the new courthouse at Darlington was completed at a total cost to the county of \$290. The organization of Vanderburgh and Spencer counties on February 1, 1818, out of Warrick left the latter county with nearly its present boundaries. Darlington was in the southeastern corner of Warrick after Vanderburgh and Spencer were cut off from either side of it. The Legislature was called upon to name commissioners to select a more central site. The locating commissioners were named in the act of January 7, 1818, and on March 19, 1818, they decided upon the site now occupied by Boonville, the present county seat.¹³ The town was called Boonsville in honor of Ratliff Boon, but the name has since been changed to Boonville. Warrick county has had at least one courthouse fire according to the best accounts. This occurred September 3, 1833. There is also an account of a fire in 1818 but it has not been verified.

Washington and Switzerland counties were organized in 1814, and their county seats, Salem and Vevay respectively, have remained unchanged for a hundred years. Salem has never had its position assailed, but Vevay has been compelled to defend its honors twice. The Legislature passed acts on two different occasions, which called for an election on the question of relocating the county seat. The first act was passed on January 16, 1849¹⁴ and the second on March

¹² *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry counties*, 1885. Hon. S. B. Hatfield of Boonville furnished data on Warrick and Vanderburgh counties.

¹³ *Laws of Indiana*, 1817-18. p. 22.

¹⁴ *Local Laws of Indiana*, 1848-49, p. 218.

7, 1853.¹⁵ The result of the first election has not been ascertained but it is certain that Vevay did not lose the county seat. The town of Florence was the chief contender in 1853, but it stood little chance of beating Vevay. The vote was as follows: Vevay, 903; Florence, 703; Center Square, 179; Log Lick, 8; Mt. Stirling, 34; Center of County, 3.¹⁶

Posey and Perry were the other two counties organized in 1814, both assuming the full rank of counties on December 1 of that year.¹⁶ Posey had three county seat changes within the first ten years of its history, and built a new courthouse at each place. The first location was at Blackford in the northeastern corner of Marrs township, the town being named after Judge Isaac Blackford, a famous lawyer in Indiana for more than forty years. Here was erected in 1815 one of those log courthouses, typical of the times. The specifications for this building have been taken from the Posey county records and are given here in full since this description will fit a large number of early Indiana courthouses. "It was to be 26 feet long and 20 feet wide, to be built of logs of a handsome size, hewed down inside and outside, one story and a half high, with one door fronting the street and one window right opposite the door, with six panes of glass, 8x10 inches each. The lower floor to be well laid with plank of puncheon, the upper floor to be laid with plank, with a convenient staircase from the lower. The house to be well covered with clapboard roof, with ribs and weight poles well peeled. One chimney, to be handsomely built of sticks and mortar. The house to be well chinked and daubed, and, also, to be well underpinned. All the timber of the said house to be of some good lasting quality. Also one window, to be cut in the gable end of the upper story finished as the window below; each one to be furnished with convenient shutters. All the other parts of the said building to be finished and done in a workmanlike manner."¹⁷ This courthouse cost \$116.

Blackford was too far from the center of population to be satisfactory, and within a year there was an agitation to remove it to a site closer to Harmonie. George Rappe and his colony settled in Posey county in 1814, the summer the seat of justice was located at

¹⁵ *Laws of Indiana*, 1853, p. 29; Indianapolis *Indiana State Journal*, June 25, 1853.

¹⁶ *Laws of Indiana*, 1814, pp. 14 and 18.

¹⁷ Commissioners Records at Mt. Vernon.

Blackford. They numbered over a thousand and constituted by far the majority of the residents of the county. The Legislature passed an act, January 1, 1817, providing for commissioners to relocate the county seat.¹⁸ When they met on the third Monday of February to consider the various sites offered, Frederick Rappe of Harmonie came forward with a proposition to build a courthouse at Springfield if the Board of Commissioners would but accept it. Rappe wanted the courthouse nearer Harmonie, and since the greater portion of the people lived at Harmonie, the commissioners decided on May 12 to accept his offer. But Springfield was an inland town and, apparently, would never become prosperous like the river towns. Mount Vernon was a rising village, and possessed the overwhelming advantage of being located on the Ohio river. In the early twenties it started an agitation to get the county seat, and with the assistance of an act of the Legislature, February 12, 1825, they succeeded in getting the desired change.¹⁹ Today Springfield is nearly deserted, while fields of waving grain cover what was once the village of Blackford.

Perry was the fourth county organized in 1814, and the thirteenth and last county created before the Territory of Indiana applied to Congress for an enabling act. In November of the same year, the commissioners specified in the act creating the county, chose a site on the Ohio river for the new county seat and gave it the classical name of Troy. In July, 1817, the first session of court met in the new courthouse at Troy. But Troy, like her ancient namesake, was destined to fall, and her overthrow was provided for in the act of January 10, 1818, an act providing for the relocation of the county seat of Perry.²⁰ Spencer county was created January 10, 1818, and undoubtedly this had something to do with the proposed relocation. The commissioners to relocate the county seat met on the first Monday of March, 1818, and after inspection and deliberation selected the town of Washington for the new county seat. The last session of court at Troy was held in October, 1818, and it adjourned to meet at Washington the following February. By that time Washington had changed its name to Franklin, but neither of these Revolutionary heroes seemed to satisfy the citizens. Classical

¹⁸ *Laws of Indiana, 1816-17, p. 202.*

¹⁹ *Laws of Indiana, 1825, p. 9.*

²⁰ *Laws of Indiana, 1817-18, p. 20.*

antiquity was again called upon, and the new seat of justice appeared on the court records in September, 1819, as Rome. The name was unfortunate. Just as in ancient times Rome outlived Troy, so did the modern Rome of Perry county outlive the Troy of the same county. The day came when the modern Rome had to fall. Several miles down the Ohio was the rising town of Cannelton. In the early fifties the citizens of the latter town began to plan to get the county seat. The legislative act of March 2, 1855 gave the county commissioners the conditional power of moving county seats; before that time, under the 1816 Constitution, a special enactment was necessary, the actual selection being left to a commission of five members created by the legislature.²¹ A preliminary skirmish was opened in March, 1856, but nothing definite was accomplished. The question was held in abeyance until after the legislative act of December 22, 1858, which act put more power in the way of changing county seats into the hands of the county commissioners.²² Backed by the acts of 1855 and 1858, the citizens advocating the removal of the county seat from Rome to Cannelton, again appeared with a petition before the county commissioners. A public spirited coal company of Cannelton offered to erect a court house if the commissioners would make the change. Satisfactory terms were also made with the citizens of Rome by the Cannelton adherents. The offer of a new courthouse was too good to be passed by lightly, and the commissioners finally decided to make the change. The order announcing the removal was entered on their records, March 8, 1859. By December 7, 1859, all the county buildings were ready and on that day the removal of all papers, books, and furniture was ordered under the general supervision of W. P. Beacon. But Cannelton was not always to rest in peace. About two miles down the Ohio river was the thriving Swiss town of Tell City, and in the nineties there occurred a very curious situation in these two rival towns. Tell City wanted the county seat, and wanted it so badly that the town actually built a fine public building and offered it to the county for a courthouse if the county seat should be moved to Tell City. The citizens of Cannelton were not to be outdone in patriotic devotion to their county, so they likewise built a new courthouse and presented it to the county in order to forestall any action which might lead to the

²¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1855, p. 58.

²² *Laws of Indiana, Special Session*, 1858, p. 32.

removal of the seat of justice from their town. Tell City now uses its building for the city hall, and the probability is that it will never be used for the purpose for which a public spirited body of citizens designed it.

Two counties, Orange and Jackson, were organized in 1816. Paoli has been the county seat of Orange from the beginning and, so far as the writer knows, no other town of the county has ever contended for county seat honors. The first county seat of Jackson county was established at Vallonia in June, 1816, and the first courts were held in the shade by the old fort in the village. But Vallonia retained her newly gained glory for only a few months, for in November, 1816, the county commissioners decided to establish the seat of justice at Brownstown where it has since remained, although Seymour has for many years been trying to secure the honor.

The Legislature of 1816-17 organized four counties: Jennings, Pike, Daviess and Sullivan. The county seats of Jennings and Pike were established at Vernon and Petersburg, respectively, and have never been changed. However, the last few years has witnessed a struggle in Jennings county between Vernon and North Vernon, a town a mile and a half to the north, in which the latter has been making strenuous efforts to secure the county seat. The North Vernon advocates succeeded in getting the last Legislature to pass the act of March 15, 1913, which provided for an election to determine whether the county seat should be moved from Vernon to North Vernon.²³ The change was to be made if sixty per cent. of the votes were in favor of the proposed relocation.²⁴ The election was held on September 22, 1913 and Vernon retained the county seat by the slender majority of sixteen, the vote standing 2,217 for relocation and 1,512 against it.²⁵

The first county seat of Daviess county was located in the present town of Washington, although it was known by the name of Liverpool at the time the location was made. The name was changed to Washington, August 18, 1817.²⁶

Carlisle was the first seat of justice of Sullivan county. From there it was moved to Merom, a town on the Wabash river, in 1819.

²³ *Laws of Indiana*, 1913, p. 906.

²⁴ *Indianapolis News*, September 23, 1913.

²⁵ Supt. William Vogel of North Vernon furnished data on Jennings county.

²⁶ Daviess county data furnished by Co. Supt. A. O. Fulkerson.

An effort was made to secure a more central location by the act of January 29, 1830, but the Merom adherents prevented the change.²⁷ The question of removal lay dormant for ten years, but by 1840 the increasing population made it necessary to seek a site nearer the center of the county. On February 15, 1841, the Legislature passed an act which provided for a board of five commissioners to select a new seat of justice as near the center of the county as possible.²⁸ They selected the present site of Sullivan, then an unbroken wilderness, and there laid out the present town. The formal transfer of county records took place in 1843. The Sullivan county courthouse with all the records was destroyed by fire February 6, 1850.

The Legislature of 1817-18 organized nine counties: Spencer, Vanderburgh, Vigo, Dubois, Crawford, Lawrence, Monroe, Ripley and Randolph. The county seats of Spencer, Vanderburgh and Vigo were established at Rockport, Evansville and Terre Haute, respectively, where they still remain. Evansville enjoys the unique distinction of being the only town in the State which has been the county seat of two counties. As has been stated, it was the first county seat of Warrick county. Spencer county has an incipient county seat struggle on at the present time. The town of Chrisney on the Southern railroad has the advantage of being near the center of the county and is being seriously considered for the county seat. The courthouse at Rockport is in very poor condition and when the erection of a new building becomes necessary, there promises to be a struggle between Rockport and Chrisney.²⁹

Portersville was the first county seat of Dubois county, but since it was on White river, the northern boundary of the county, it could not hope to retain the honor very long.³⁰ A more central location was desired as the county grew in population, and the Legislature was called upon to solve the difficulty. The first attempt to make the change was based upon the act of January 19, 1829.³¹ This provided for five commissioners from the surrounding counties, viz: Spencer, Orange, Martin, Pike and Daviess. This commission for some reason not found out, failed to accomplish anything and the

²⁷ *Laws of Indiana, 1829-30*, p. 35.

²⁸ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1840-41*, p. 198.

²⁹ Spencer data furnished by A. J. Payton of Rockport.

³⁰ Dubois county data secured from Wilson's *History of Dubois County* and from Chas. H. Bart, Supt. of Schools at Jasper.

³¹ *Laws of Indiana, 1828-29*, p. 181.

Legislature was importuned to pass a second act providing for a change. The Legislature replied by passing a second act January 21, 1830, which repealed the act of the year before and named a Perry county commissioner in place of the Pike county member.³² A supplementary act was passed nine days later, January 30, 1830, explaining some of the provisions of the act of January 21.³³ These commissioners were ordered to meet at Portersville on the second Monday of August, 1830 and proceed to select a new county seat as near the center of the county as possible. The county was divided into two rival camps, the White river pioneers and the Patoka river settlers. The site at Jasper was finally selected because it was near water, near the center of the county, and also because a mill had been erected on the Patoka river. The record of the commissioners who selected the site at Jasper was lost in the fire of August 17, 1839, which completely destroyed the courthouse and all records. It is known that the town of Jasper was laid out in September, 1830, by Hosea Smith, surveyor of Pike county. An interesting story concerning the naming of the new town is told by Mr. Wilson. "The commissioners were going to name the new town 'Eleanor' or 'Elandor,' in honor of Mrs. Enlow, wife of Joseph Enlow, one of the donors, when that good lady said, 'No, wait, let me select a name,' and going for her Bible, she soon returned and suggested the word—and the word was 'Jasper,'—and thus the town was named." (Revelations, Chapter 21, Verse 19).³⁴

The county seat history of Crawford county has not been satisfactorily straightened out, owing to the fact that the writer has been unable to get all of the records. The dates given for the various seats of justice are the best obtainable. Upon the organization of the county in 1818, Mount Sterling became the county seat, and it remained so at least until 1822. The Legislature passed an act on December 21, 1821, providing for a change of the county seat from "Mountsterling."³⁵ Just where it was taken or when the change was made, the writer has not been able to find out. It was probably taken to Fredonia, a town on the Ohio river. It is certain that it was at Fredonia in 1843, for in that year the Legislature passed an

³² *Laws of Indiana, 1829-30, p. 33.*

³³ *Laws of Indiana, 1829-30, p. 41.*

³⁴ *Wilson, History of Dubois County, p. 161.*

³⁵ *Laws of Indiana, 1821-22, p. 9.*

act, January 4, providing for its removal from that place.³⁶ Leavenworth became the next county seat and remained so until 1894 when it was removed to English after a notable fight.

The story of the Leavenworth-English struggle was written up for this article by A. J. Goodman, of English, who was in the midst of the whole fray. The account here given is substantially as related by him, the writer making little change and retaining as much of the picturesque phraseology as possible.

The final struggle between Leavenworth and English opened in October, 1893. At that time a general council was held at English by the most enterprising citizens of the northern part of the county, at which a committee composed of William F. Richards, William T. Beasley and William T. Carr was chosen to give Leavenworth the fight of their lives. During this year James R. Pro bought the *Marengo Observer*, moved it to English, and changed its name to the *English News*. He at once opened up the county seat question and, of course, advocated the immediate removal of the same to English.

The wise council at their meeting retained Judge Charles Jewett of New Albany, Judge C. W. Cook and Major W. Funk of Corydon for their legal lights. The committee then appointed petitioners in all the northern townships of the county, and a corps of petitioners at large, consisting of active wide-awake men. This second set of petitioners was not limited to any one district, but its work was mostly in the southern part of the county. It was there that the hard fight was well met by the enemy. The men carrying the petitions were as follows: R. L. and G. W. Sloan, W. W. Temple, T. B. Cummins, M. J. Brown, Dr. C. D. Lockett, H. A. Brown, J. R. Crews, H. J. Brown, William and John Lockett, and others. Each petition held twenty-five names, and when they were filled the men carrying the petition, returned them in person and swore to them before a notary public by the name of A. J. Goodman. Goodman handled every petition and turned them over to J. R. Pro and W. W. Temple, who after carefully inspecting them, returned them to Goodman, who then placed his signature to them and filed them in his office. The petitions were circulated during the month of November, 1893.

³⁶ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1842-43, p. 122.*

On the first Monday of December, the citizens favoring English formed a skirmish line reaching across the county from east to west and on that day made a drive for Leavenworth to meet the county commissioners, Amos Adkins, James G. Thurston and A. J. Scott. On this memorable drive through the county they gathered the names of one hundred and eighty petitioners, which gave the English people a handsome majority. On their arrival at Leavenworth at two o'clock p. m., they entered a motion to file with the first petitions the names of those secured on their rush across the county. Immediately the fight commenced between the lawyers.

The remonstrators had for their lawyers, Robert J. Tracewell of Corydon, J. L. Suddarth, and John H. Weathers of Leavenworth. The English adherents were represented by Charles Jewett, C. W. Cook and Major W. Funk. The English crowd entered the court room at two o'clock in the afternoon and at half-past four the commissioners granted their petition for the relocation of the county seat. The remonstrators took an appeal from this decision to the Crawford county circuit court, got a change of venue to the Harrison county circuit court, and from there to the Washington county circuit court before Judge Davis, appellate judge. Now followed a contest not to be excelled. The petitioners had a large map of the county made by the county superintendent, Charles Robertson, in which he had located every town, school house, church, and section in the county. The map was placed on the court room floor before the witness chair during the proceedings. This proved a wonderful help to the various witnesses in making their testimony, since it seemed there were many citizens who were not quite sure as to what part of the county they lived in. After three weeks of hard fighting, a decision was rendered in favor of removing the county seat from Leavenworth to English. The latter place had won every fight from the commissioners' court up until the final decision had been made.

English had now become the county seat by law, and the petitioners felt like it was all settled. A committee commenced to build a courthouse, but the Leavenworth crowd at once filed an injunction which stopped everything. They claimed that the county was so heavily in debt that the building of a new courthouse would completely exhaust the county treasury.

On Saturday, April 24, 1894, the committee of English citizens

who had the new courthouse in charge had a meeting to decide upon some definite plan of action. At this crisis A. J. Goodman proved to be the man who was to solve the difficulty. He was an old soldier who had served throughout the Civil War in the Fourteenth Army Corps under the command of Gen. Thomas. He had gone through all the campaigns and battles from Louisville to the sea and is still well drilled and skilled in battle. It took such a man to face the threatening war in Crawford county in the spring of 1894. At this meeting on April 24, he asked the committee, through R. L. Sloan, to resign, which they did at once. Sloan then moved that the whole matter be entrusted to Goodman, and this being done, Goodman laid a part of his plans before the late committee and then dismissed them. He asked a few of the most active men to stay and consult with him. Goodman confided to the select few that he was going to descend on Leavenworth on the Monday following and get the county records even if it was necessary to resort to actual warfare. On the evening of Saturday, April 24, 1894, the campaign was finally worked out in detail.

All the saloons in English were ordered closed and no man was able to buy a drink or bottle of intoxicating whiskey until Monday evening. Goodman figured that by that time every county record would be in English where it belonged. The next move was to send out messengers over the county soliciting two-horse wagons, horseback riders, guns, and every man who would join the brigade which was to advance upon Leavenworth. All were ordered to assemble at English on the following day, Sunday, April 25, 1895, at noon. The start was set for one o'clock Monday morning. On Sunday afternoon two-horse wagons, men on horseback, men on foot, and all armed, began to pour into English. The wagons were carefully numbered and parked and each driver given his number. The arms were loaded in the front wagons. Three men, well acquainted with derrick work, were assigned to wagons that had been fitted up with block and tackle for loading the heavy safes. Three sledge hammers were provided and three certain men chosen to handle them. They were not to be used except in case the county officials would not unlock their doors. A few sticks of dynamite were provided in case they might be needed, as it was generally supposed that the Leavenworth contingent would make a fort out of their court house.

Three men were selected to handle the dynamite and one of them was given a nickname on that account which he bears to this day.³⁷

At half-past twelve o'clock on this eventful Monday morning, Goodman ordered his cavalry to mount, and proceeded to drill them for half an hour. At one o'clock the command was given to start and the county seat army was off for the home of the enemy fourteen miles away. At seven o'clock the inhabitants of Leavenworth were given their first view of the invading army—ninety-six two-horse wagons, eighty-two mounted horsemen, and four hundred and seventy-eight infantry. A committee at once waited upon the county officials and were told that the courthouse would be opened at eight o'clock. Promptly at that time the doors were opened and the records were soon loaded by specially delegated men, while the rest of the army kept guard. The loading was done rapidly and quietly, Leavenworth standing aghast at the proceedings, but unable to make a move. The return trip was made without incident, and by five o'clock of this memorable Monday, every wagon and all the army were safe back in English.

Thus ended the most picturesque county seat fight ever staged in the State. It is interesting to note that the courthouse at English is the only one in the State which was erected outside the limits of the county seat town. It is about half a mile south of the center of the town and was placed there for two reasons. There was a law then in force that a courthouse could not be relocated within four miles of the county line and as the line between Crawford and Orange counties was only about four miles from the town, this statute kept the courthouse from the center of the town.³⁸ Another reason for the location outside of the town limits was that the title to the land on which the town of English is built is faulty and it was evident that the new courthouse must be erected on land for which a clear title could be secured. The title to the present site has passed through only one person since the patent was issued by the government.³⁹

Lawrence county has made but one change in county seats. Upon the organization of the county, March 1, 1818, it was placed at Palestine, the site being chosen on May 21, 1818, on land donated by

³⁷ *Dynamite Jack Nelson.*

³⁸ *Laws of Indiana*, Special Session, 1885, p. 221.

³⁹ Data on the Crawford county fight was furnished by Hon. John H. Weathers of New Albany.

Benjamin and Ezekiel Blackwell and Henry H. Massie. The commissioners named in the legislative act of February 9, 1825 moved it to Bedford.⁴⁰ It seems there were some property owners at Palestine who were not certain that the county seat would remain at Bedford. At least they did not take advantage of the provision in the act of removal which allowed the holders of lots in Palestine to exchange them for lots in Bedford. This kind of a provision was frequently put in early legislative acts providing for county seat changes so that no hardships would fall upon those who had invested in property with the understanding that the county seat was to be maintained in the town. An act passed December 26, 1828, again extended to the property holders of Palestine the privilege of exchanging their lots for new lots at Bedford.⁴¹

The other three counties organized in 1818 were Ripley, Monroe and Randolph. The Ripley county courts were held at Marion for the first year, the county seat not being selected until April 27, 1818. The place selected was the present site of Versailles on land donated by John Paul of Jefferson county. The first lots were sold on September 21, 1818 and temporary provisions were made for holding the courts in the spring of 1819. A courthouse was not built until 1821. Within the last few years Osgood has been agitating the question of removing the county seat and when a new courthouse is proposed the change will have to be decided. Monroe and Randolph have always maintained their county seats at Bloomington and Winchester, respectively.

Three counties were organized in 1819, Fayette, Owen and Floyd. Connersville has been the county seat of Fayette county from its creation. Although the county seat of Floyd has always been New Albany, an act of the legislature, January 10, 1823, shows that there was an early effort to remove it from that place.⁴² This act provided for commissioners to meet at New Albany on the first Monday of March, 1823, "to relocate and establish the seat of justice for said county." Whatever action was taken at this time, it is certain that New Albany was not deprived of her honors.

The first county seat of Owen was located about half a mile up the river from the present town of Spencer on 150 acres donated by

⁴⁰ *Laws of Indiana, 1825*, p. 88.

⁴¹ *Laws of Indiana, 1827-28*, p. 129.

⁴² *Laws of Indiana, 1822-23*, p. 103.

John Dunn. This place was known as Lancaster but since a clear title to the site could not be secured a change was soon made. By the act of Dec. 19, 1819, provision was made for a commission to choose a new site. The commissioners selected the present site of Spencer, the land being donated by Richard Bee m (70½ acres), Isaiah Cooper (21½ acres), Philip Hart (10 acres), and John Bartholomew (30) acres). The locating commissioners, John Tipton, James Ward and Patrick Callan, made their report to the county commissioners on February 12, 1820.

There were only two counties organized by the 1819-20 Legislature, Scott and Martin. Lexington was the first county seat of Scott and remained so for fifty years, despite several attempts to remove it to a more central location. As early as January 10, 1823,⁴³ the Legislature passed an act providing for commissioners to settle the question of relocation, but they decided in favor of retaining it at Lexington. It was not until February 12, 1839 that another determined effort was made to secure relocation.⁴⁴ The legislative act of that date provided for a vote on the first Monday of August, 1839, by the legal voters of the county on the question of removal. Although the vote has not been found, it is certain that Lexington retained the county seat. But the opponents of Lexington were determined to get a relocation and succeeded in getting the Legislature to pass a bill the following year, February 13, 1840, providing for a second election, Monday, June 8, 1840.⁴⁵ Again Lexington won the fight, and for more than thirty years was not molested. However, as the county grew in population it was felt that a more central location should be chosen. The building of a railroad through the county in 1871 made it possible to locate a town on the same which would be more satisfactory in every way for the county seat. To this end a new town was laid out, March 27, 1871, on the railroad, and named Scottsburg in honor of Thomas Scott, the president of the Jeffersonville, Madison and Indianapolis Railroad. The town was laid out in response to a petition presented to the board of commissioners on March 10, 1871, asking for the removal of the county seat to this place. The contract for the courthouse and jail

⁴³ *Laws of Indiana, 1822-23, p. 45.*

⁴⁴ *Laws of Indiana, 1838-39, p. 55.*

⁴⁵ *Laws of Indiana, 1839-40, p. 37.*

at Scottsburg was let on March 6, 1873, for \$13,500 and the courthouse was ready for occupancy in the latter part of February, 1874.⁴⁶

Martin county holds the record for the greatest number of county seat changes.⁴⁷ It seems that the citizens of the county were hard to satisfy. When they failed to change the location of a county seat, they did the next best thing, and changed the name of the town where the county seat was located. No less than three times was the name of the county seat changed. The first town to have the honor was Hindostan, and here the contract for a \$4,185 courthouse was let to Benjamin Adams on June 5, 1820. This building was not yet completed when the county seat was changed. Dissatisfaction with Hindostan led to the legislative act of January 24, 1828, which authorized five commissioners, named in the act, to meet at Hindostan, March 14, 1828, to select a new county seat.⁴⁸ They met at the appointed time and, after due deliberation and consideration, chose Mount Pleasant. This town was about two miles north of Hindostan on the west side of the East Fork of White river. On July 7, 1828, it was ordered that the county clerk and treasurer remove their offices to Mount Pleasant immediately. The board of commissioners met for the first time at the new seat of justice on September 1, 1828. But Mount Pleasant was too far from the center of the county to give general satisfaction, especially, since the county gained rapidly in population in the next fifteen years. The friends of relocation had sufficient influence by 1844 to get the Legislature on January 13 of that year to pass an act providing for relocation. The locating commissioners were ordered to meet at Dougherty's Shoals on the first Monday of March, 1844. They were restricted by the Legislature from selecting any site more than three and one-half miles from the center of the county.⁴⁹ On March 8, they reported to the Martin county board of commissioners that they had located the new seat of justice at Halberts Bluffs, and that land had been donated there for the county seat by Clement Horsey. This third county seat was located at the present site of Shoals on the west side of the river. The site was at once platted by Mason J. Sherman and the plat was recorded May 29, 1844 under the name of Memphis. For some reason, which has not been ascertained, there was so much

⁴⁶ *Illustrated Atlas of Indiana*, 1876.

⁴⁷ Martin county data was furnished by Carlos T. McCarty of Shoals.

⁴⁸ *Laws of Indiana*, 1827-28, p. 16.

⁴⁹ *Local Laws of Indiana*, 1843-44, p. 158.

dissatisfaction with the new site that the whole town plat was sold back to the donor before the summer was over and before any county buildings were erected. It is not certain that court was ever held at Memphis; it is certain that some time during the fall of 1844 the county seat was removed to Harrisonville, near the site of Trinity Springs. Four towns had in turn been the county seat up to this time, and yet the citizens were not satisfied. Again the Legislature was called upon and for the third time passed an act to relocate the Martin county seat. This act of January 11, 1845 provided for an election to be held the first Monday in March following to settle the question of relocation.⁵⁰ The result of the election has not been ascertained but it is certain that it was voted to relocate. The legislative act further provided that if a majority should be in favor of relocation, a second election should be held on the first Monday of April, 1845, to select one commissioner from each of the townships in the county to relocate the seat of justice. This second election was held at the appointed time and on May 2, 1845, the commissioners so elected met at Harrisonville, and reported to the county commissioners that on April 30, 1845 they had located the county seat in section 1, township 3 north, range 4 west. The new site was located "within one mile and a half of the geographical center of the county," pursuant to the recommendation of the legislative act. The land for the new seat of justice was donated and immediately platted under the name of Hillsborough. But although the citizens seemed satisfied with the new location, they soon tired of its name, and were not quieted until the legislative act of February 11, 1848 changed it to Dover Hill.⁵¹

According to the provision of the legislative act, the county seat was established at Mount Pleasant while the county buildings were being built at Hillsborough. The first meeting of the county board of commissioners was held in the new courthouse at Hillsborough on September 7, 1846. But the end was not yet. Harrisonville had been seriously considered for the county seat several times, and from the best evidence at hand, the seat of justice had been taken there from Memphis in the fall of 1844, and had remained there until the act of January 11, 1845 ordered it removed to Mount Pleasant pending the erection of the county buildings at Hillsborough. The Har-

⁵⁰ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1844-45*, p. 79.

⁵¹ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1847-48*, p. 460.

risonville advocates had sufficient influence to get the Legislature to pass an act on February 13, 1851 providing for a referendum on the subject.⁵² The act was not passed without the Dover Hill adherents making a strenuous opposition, the act stating the "remonstrances of sundry other citizens of said county have been presented to the General Assembly remonstrating against the removal of the said county seat." The act left the power of calling the election to the board of commissioners and the record shows that they refused to call the election. For fifteen years the county seat question lay dormant, but the fact that Dover Hill was three miles from a railroad, finally brought its downfall as a county seat. The Ohio and Mississippi Railroad was built through the county from east to west in 1856, and as the citizens saw the great advantage of having their county seat on the railroad, an agitation was started to make the sixth change. The legislative acts of March 2, 1855 and December 22, 1858 had left the power of making county seat changes largely in the hands of the county commissioners. These acts provided for a change upon the petition of two-thirds of the citizens of the county. On September 7, 1866, a petition was presented to the commissioners praying for the removal of the county seat from Dover to Memphis. Memphis had been selected as the county seat in 1844, only to lose the honor the same year. Now, however, the new railroad ran through the place, and this fact together with its central location on the East Fork of White river, made it the most desirable site in the county. There must have been some shrewd wire pulling about this time, for a year later, on September 23, 1867, the board of commissioners ordered the county seat moved—not to Memphis—but to the town of Loogootee, then the largest town by far in the county. It was on the railroad but only two and a half miles from the western line of the county. Evidently a vigorous protest was registered by the rest of the county for the order to move was rescinded before any work had been done toward making the change. Now follows a bitter four-cornered fight, during which at one time an order was issued locating the county seat at Harrisonville. No action was taken, however, and finally, as a compromise measure, on December 11, 1869, the county seat was located on the west side of White river at Memphis. Some one suggested changing the name of the town when it was rechartered and the eighth county seat of Martin county

⁵²*Local Laws of Indiana*, 1850-51, p. 390.

opened for business on July 4, 1871 at the newly christened town of West Shoals. On April 27, 1876 the court house was destroyed by fire, and pending the erection of a new building, the offices were moved across the river to Shoals. A few years ago the boundaries of West Shoals were dissolved and the boundaries of Shoals extended to take in that territory, thus placing the county seat at Shoals.

The legislative session of 1820-21, organized four counties: Union, Greene, Parke and Bartholomew. Brownsville, located in the northwestern part of the county, was the first county seat of Union, but within a year agitation was started to change it to Liberty in the center of the county. The legislative act of December 21, 1822, furnished the means to relocate the seat of justice.⁵³ The usual five locating commissioners were to meet on the first Monday of March, 1823, to consider a new site for the county seat. They finally selected Liberty to bear the honor, and after an exciting struggle the change was made in 1823.

The five locating commissioners to select the first county seat of Greene, met on March 10, 1821, and reported to the county commissioners that they had located the future seat of justice on sections 9 and 10, township 7 north, range 5 west, and called the new town Burlington. The land for the county seat was donated by Thomas Bradford, Frederick Shepherd and Zebulon Hague. A courthouse was built at a cost of \$250. By 1824 it became evident that Burlington could not be furnished with water at a reasonable expense, and the attention of the people was called to the question of moving the county seat. Various suggestions were made and the people were called upon to donate a suitable site. Fairplay, a small village on White river about three miles north of the present city of Bloomfield, put forth its claims very strongly. However, it apparently had no citizens willing to donate sufficient land to influence the commissioners. One Peter C. Van Slyke, a wealthy land owner, in and around the present site of Bloomfield, made such a liberal donation that his offer was accepted. The ground was immediately surveyed, and the first sale of lots was set for April 22, 1824. A log courthouse was built in the summer of 1824, "a hewed log house, 26 by 20 feet, one story and a half high, with one door and one window, with twelve lights in it (8 by 10), in the lower

⁵³*Laws of Indiana, 1821-22, p. 10.*

story, with a good poplar plank floor. House to be covered with shingles." The board of justices met at Burlington for the last time in September 1824 and immediately adjourned to meet in the new courthouse in Bloomfield. Burlington gradually dwindled away, until at the present time there is not a vestige of this former seat of justice. Greene county is fortunate, however, in having two other towns of large population, Worthington and Linton. There has been considerable county seat talk at both places but the recent completion of a fine courthouse at Bloomfield has stopped all agitation along that line. The citizens of Linton have even gone so far as to advocate the organization of a new county of which Linton should, of course be the county seat. The county would be cut off from Greene and Sullivan. It hardly seems likely that this will ever be brought about. At the time the present courthouse was built, Worthington put up a strenuous fight and for a time things looked serious, but the storm blew over without any change of the county seat.

Although the permanent county seat of Parke was located at Rockville in 1824, considerable difficulty was encountered before this was accomplished. In the act of January 9, 1821 organizing the county, provision was made as usual for commissioners to select the county seat. They were not to meet to make their choice until more than a year later, the third Monday of February, 1822. Before that time, in fact before the opening of the Legislature in December, 1821, one of the commissioners, George Ewing of Knox, left the State, and this necessitated another legislative act to fill this vacancy. The act of December 7, 1821 named Josephus Collett, of Vigo county, to take Ewings' place.⁵⁴ This commission was to meet on the second Monday of November, 1822, to select a site for the county seat. Why the selection was not made until a year or more later has not been found out. The first land sales at Rockville were held in June, 1824. No county buildings were erected until 1826, when a log courthouse was erected which served the double purpose of a temple of justice and a house of worship. The difficulty in getting definite data on Parke county is partly due to the fact that the clerk's office with all its records was burned sometime during 1822. There is evidence that the seat of justice was located temporarily at Roseville first and at Armiesburg later between 1821 and 1824.

⁵⁴ *Laws of Indiana, 1821-22, p. 12.*

The fourth county organized in 1821 was Bartholomew and the central location of the first county seat selected has never made it necessary to have any change. John Tipton, later United States Senator from Indiana, figures in an interesting way in the founding of the county seat at Columbus. Tipton donated thirty acres for the site and the commissioners, grateful for the generous donation, named the new county seat Tiptona in honor of Tipton. This was done on February 15, 1821, but for some reason the commissioners at their next meeting, March 20, rescinded their order of the previous month, and called the new town Columbus. This was done, according to the most reliable report, on account of Tipton's political views.

The Legislature of 1821-22 formed seven new counties out of the New Purchase: Morgan, Decatur, Shelby, Rush, Marion, Putnam, and Henry. All of these retained their county seats which were selected for them at the organization of the county. Martinsville, the county seat of Morgan county, was named in honor of James Martin, the senior member of the board of commissioners, selected by the State to choose the site of the seat of justice. Greensburg, Decatur county, was named by Mrs. Thomas Hendricks in honor of her old home in Pennsylvania.⁵⁵ When the question of naming the new county seat was brought up, Mrs. Hendricks told the commissioners of her desire to have it called Greensburg. It was proposed to leave the question to a vote of the seventeen young men who came from Pennsylvania to this locality, with Thomas Hendricks. This settled the question, for Mrs. Hendricks had four charming daughters,—and the young men were unmarried.

Greencastle, the county seat of Putnam county, was so named at the suggestion of Ephriam Dukes, one of the donors of the land on which the new county seat was established, Greencastle, Pennsylvania, being his native town. The county seats of Shelby, Marion, Rush, and Henry have always been at Shelbyville, Indianapolis, Rushville and New Castle, respectively.

The first courthouse in Marion county was built on the present site at Indianapolis with a view of utilizing it as a statehouse until a suitable capitol building could be erected. It continued to serve the double purpose of courthouse and statehouse until 1835, when the

⁵⁵ *Illustrated Atlas of Indiana*, 1876, p. 320; *History of Bartholomew County*, 1888.

capitol building was completed. It was often used as a public hall and for many years it was frequently used as a house of worship. The first courthouse, built in 1824, was used until 1870, when it was torn down to make way for the present building.

Four new counties were added by the next Legislature: Montgomery, Hamilton, Johnson and Madison. The county seats of the first three are retained at the places where they were first established, viz.: Crawfordsville, Noblesville and Franklin. Two Johnson county courthouses have burned, the first May 18, 1849, and the second December 12, 1874. Fortunately most of the county records were saved from both fires.⁵⁶

Madison county had a hard time getting its county seat located permanently. Pendleton, the first county seat, was selected in 1823, but it was too far from the center of the country to be satisfactory. Although the permanent county seat was located at Anderson, it was once located at a town called Bedford according to the act of January 4, 1827.⁵⁷ This act gave Ansel Richmond, the county recorder and clerk, the right to keep his office at the house of Nathaniel Richmond until "lots shall have been sold in the town of Bedford, the seat of justice of said county." This site was evidently chosen as a result of an act of January 13, 1826, but evidence on this point has not been found.⁵⁸ It seems certain that Anderson-town was chosen before anything was done at Bedford. The rapid growth of Andersontown, a town much nearer the center of the county, caused the citizens of the county to apply to the Legislature for an act to relocate the county seat. The change from Pendleton or Bedford to Andersontown was made as the result of the act of January 4, 1827. The new site appears to have been chosen in 1828. A courthouse was not built at Andersontown until the latter part of 1831. The name of the county seat was changed from Andersontown to Anderson by the legislative act of February 16, 1848, as a result of a petition presented to the Legislature by Robert N. Williams and James Hazlett, two prominent citizens of Andersontown.⁵⁹ The courthouse with most of the records was destroyed by

⁵⁶ Banta, D. D., *Historical Sketch of Johnson County*, p. 80.

⁵⁷ *Laws of Indiana, 1826-27*, p. 65.

⁵⁸ *Laws of Indiana, 1825-26*, p. 80.

⁵⁹ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1847-48*, p. 300.

fire on December 10, 1880. A new building was at once ordered and was ready for occupancy on February 21, 1885.⁶⁰

Vermillion, Allen, and Hendricks counties, organized by the 1823-24 Legislature, have never gone through county seat troubles and their county seats have always been at Newport, Fort Wayne and Danville, respectively. The courthouse at Newport has been destroyed by fire on two different occasions, January 24, 1844, and January 5, 1866, but no records were destroyed in either fire.

Clay county, organized the succeeding year, has had two county seats and one very disastrous courthouse fire. Bowling Green was selected in 1825 as the first seat of justice and held the honor for fifty years. At least four towns were laid out in Clay county for the purpose of making a bid for the county seat. These towns and the dates of their efforts along this line are as follows: Aquilla (1838), Jonesboro (1838), Bellaire (1852), and Ashboro (1858). Two efforts by legislative acts were made to secure a relocation of the county seat before the seventies. The act of February 13, 1843, provided for an election on the first Monday of August, 1843, to decide the question, but Bowling Green came out victorious.⁶¹ On November 30, 1851, the courthouse and all records burned at Bowling Green and a fight was launched at once to choose a new location for the county seat, Bellaire being the chief contender. By February 23, 1853, the advocates of relocation got an act through the Legislature providing locating commissioners to select a new seat of justice.⁶² But for the second time Bowling Green came out ahead and at once put up a "fine, substantial courthouse" which cost the county \$10,000. In 1872 the county seat was ordered removed to Brazil as a result of a petition on the part of those favoring that town. It was several years before suitable buildings were erected and the formal transfer of records did not take place until January 26, 1877.

Tippecanoe and Fountain counties were organized in 1826. Lafayette has been the county seat of Tippecanoe from the day of organization and no town in the county has ever threatened her supremacy. Fountain county has not been so fortunate.⁶³ The locating commissioners were to meet on the first Monday in May,

⁶⁰ *History of Madison County*, 1897, p. 36.

⁶¹ *Local Laws of Indiana*, 1842-43, p. 120.

⁶² *Laws of Indiana*, 1853, p. 27.

⁶³ F. E. Livengood of Covington furnished the data on Fountain county.

1826, to choose the county seat site. They undoubtedly did not meet until later, since their report was not made until July 25, 1826. The county commissioners on this day ordered "that the seat of justice of Fountain county be known and designated by the name of Covington." The first courthouse was a frame structure costing \$335. Since Covington was on the Wabash river, which forms the boundary, there was much agitation started in the latter part of the twenties to move the seat to a more central location. This feeling culminated in the legislative act of January 29, 1831, which provided for locating commissioners to investigate the question of relocation.⁶⁴ Three men, Thomas Brown, Peter Hughes, and Peter Rush, were appointed to value the town lots in Covington, and make an estimate of how much less value said property would be by the removal of the county seat. In May, 1831, they reported to the county board that their estimate was \$9,721. The commissioners appointed by the State reported to the county commissioners on June 8, 1831, that "they unanimously agreed that the town of Covington be and remain the permanent seat of justice of said county." A very interesting account of the incidents leading up to the act of January 29, 1831, is given by Mr. Livengood in his letter to the writer. The petitioners favoring relocation in 1829 could not get a sufficient number of living signers so they took the names of the deceased males from the grave stones of the different cemeteries in the county in order to get the required number. The citizens of Covington got news of this and tried to offset the work of the opposition by adding to their legal list, a long list of soldiers, both living and dead, of the Revolutionary war, Indian wars, and the War of 1812. Both of these padded petitions went to the Legislature of 1830-31, where it was found that the petitions together contained twice as many names as there were residents of the county, men, women, and children. Upon this startling discovery, the Legislature decided to investigate the situation. Hence the act of January 31, 1831, which has been discussed. The next concerted effort to secure relocation in Fountain county occurred in 1851. On February 14 of that year the Legislature passed a bill which provided for an election on the first Monday of April following.⁶⁵ Two towns were to be voted upon, Covington and Chambersburg. The vote has not

⁶⁴ *Special Laws of Indiana, 1830-31, p. 18.*

⁶⁵ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1850-51, p. 241.*

been found, but Covington succeeded in retaining the county seat. In 1870 and 1871 Veedersburg tried to get a bill through the Legislature to secure the seat of justice. Since that time Veedersburg has had its eyes on the county seat, and in the 1913 Legislature it had a bill introduced to provide for an election on the question, but the bill was killed in the committee. The bill will be introduced in 1915 again, and, so the Veedersburg people say, they are going to stay in the fight until they get the county seat. Therefore, it seems that all of Fountain county history is not yet made. A new courthouse was completed in January, 1860, and on the evening of the first day of court it burned down leaving only portions of the walls.

The year 1827 saw Warren and Delaware counties added to the rapidly growing State. The first seat of justice of Warren was located at Warrentown, two miles up the Wabash river from the present county seat. For some unknown reason, this site proved unsatisfactory, and the Legislature, January 22, 1829, passed an act for the relocation of the county seat.⁶⁶ The locating commissioners met at Warrentown on the second Monday of the following June, and in consequence of a liberal donation of land by William Harrison on the present site of Williamsport, selected that place for the new county seat. Williamsport has gone through one spirited county seat fight. In 1870 West Lebanon made a determined effort to secure the county seat but the battle was decided against it. The courthouse at Williamsport burned to the ground on Sunday, January 20, 1907. All the records but those of the commissioners were saved. The county seat of Delaware county was named after the old Indian chief who lived in that county. It was at first called Muncietown, Muncietown, or Muncie Town. The legislative act of January 13, 1845, changed the name to Muncie.⁶⁷

Hancock and Carroll counties made their appearance in 1828. Greenfield has been the county seat of Hancock from the day of its organization. The first county seat of Carroll county was christened Carrollton on May 15, 1828, but nine days later it was changed to Delphi.⁶⁸

Cass was the only county organized in 1829. The county seat was fixed at Logansport on August 10, 1829, by Henry Ristine of

⁶⁶ *Laws of Indiana, 1828-29, p. 129.*

⁶⁷ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1844-45, p. 247.*

⁶⁸ *Stewart, Recollections of Carroll county, p. 21.*

Montgomery, Erasmus Powell of Shelby, and Harris Tyner of Marion county, three of the five commissioners named by the legislative act of December 18, 1828.

Four new counties started their independent careers in 1830: Clinton, St. Joseph, Elkhart, and Boone. The town of Jefferson, four miles west of the then future town of Frankfort, was the temporary county seat of Clinton from the date of its organization, May 3, 1830, until the proper buildings were erected at Frankfort. The site of Frankfort was selected by the State commissioners and the county agent was ordered on May 19, 1830, to have the land surveyed and laid off in lots. The first term of court at Frankfort convened in April, 1831, in the new log courthouse. St. Joseph county was organized August 27, 1830, with the county seat located on a farm owned by William Brookfield, a few miles southwest of South Bend in German township. However, it is known that the first board of justices met at the house of Alexis Coquillard in South Bend and the courts were also held in his house. In fact, justice for the county was dispensed from his house for several years. Howard in his *History of St. Joseph County* gives the following account of the muddled county seat situation.⁶⁹ "Theoretically, however, the county seat was for a time on the farm of William Brookfield, in a town laid out by him at the portage of the St. Joseph. This town was called St. Joseph. Though named as the first county seat, it was in fact never more than a town on paper. The location of the county seat at St. Joseph on May 24, 1830, was made by the commissioners under section three of the act for the formation of St. Joseph and Elkhart counties. This action of the commissioners never gave satisfaction to the people of the county. A petition asking for the appointment of other commissioners to relocate the county seat was circulated amongst the settlers, received over one hundred and twenty-five signatures, and was laid before the Legislature that convened at Indianapolis, December 6, 1830. That body, in an act approved February 1, 1831, granted the prayer of the petitioners."⁷⁰ The act named five commissioners to relocate the county seat. They made their report to the county commissioners on September 7, 1831, their report being dated May 12, 1831. They selected South

⁶⁹ Howard, T. A., *History of St. Joseph County*, I, p. 173, seq.

⁷⁰ *Special Laws of Indiana*, 1830-31, p. 21.

Bend, but it was two years before a courthouse was ready for use, and six years before it was finally completed.

Elkhart county also experienced some difficulty in getting its county seat permanently located. The commissioners named in the organizing act of January 29, 1830, fixed the new county seat about five miles northwest of the present town of Goshen, at a town known as Dunlap. The ceding of a half tier of townships on the west side of the county to St. Joseph county made it necessary to choose a more central location. With the assistance of the legislative act of February 10, 1831, the present site of Goshen was selected.⁷¹ The site was at once surveyed and platted and the first sale of lots took place on June 20, 1831. The first courts in Boone county were held in Jamestown at the home of John Galvin, and according to evidence at hand this continued to be the county seat until the removal to Lebanon. The site was not satisfactory and the Legislature passed the act of January 26, 1832, providing for commissioners to relocate the county seat.⁷² This commission was ordered to choose a site within two miles of the center of the county. Until the proper buildings were erected at the future county seat the courts were to hold their sessions at the home of John Galvin in Jamestown and at "such other places in said county, as said courts may think proper." Since the first courthouse at Lebanon was completed in 1833, it is presumed that the formal transfer was made that year. Evidently the courthouse at Lebanon was not kept in repair, for an act of the Legislature, January 31, 1842, says that the condition of the building was such that the courts were held at a private home from the May term, 1839, to the May term, 1841.⁷³

Grant county was ushered in on April 1, 1831, although the first meeting of the county commissioners was not held until September, 1831. Marion was selected as the county seat during the summer of 1831 and the first lots were sold on the second Monday of November, 1831. The first courthouse was not erected until three years later.

The year 1832 saw two new counties start their careers: Lagrange and Laporte. The first county seat of Lagrange was located at the site of an old Indian village with the euphonious name

⁷¹ *Special Laws of Indiana, 1830-31, p. 22.*

⁷² *Laws of Indiana, 1831-32, p. 114.*

⁷³ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1841-42, p. 162.*

of Mongoquinong. This was given the name of Lima and remained the county seat for more than ten years. However, the gradual influx of population rendered it necessary to choose a more central location. This was done with the help of the legislative act of February 13, 1840.⁷⁴ The commissioners named by this act selected the town of Lagrange, which had been platted June 18, 1836. The new courthouse was completed December 5, 1843, and the transfer of the records occurred early in the following year. Laporte county and Lagrange county started their independent existence on the same day, April 1, 1832. The county seat of Laporte has always been Laporte, although Michigan City has tried several times to deprive it of its county seat honors.

The Legislature of 1833-34 organized Huntington, Miami, and White counties. Huntington county has never experienced any county seat strife, the first choice, the town of Huntington, has never had a rival for its place. The first county seat of Miami was at Miamisport, a town laid out in 1828, in the hope that it would be selected for the county seat. It was on the same section of land that is now occupied by Peru, a section originally set aside as a reservation for John B. Richardville, the noted Miami Indian chief. Richardville sold the east half to William N. Hood and the western half to Joseph Holman and the two men then laid out Miamisport. Hood and Holman failed to agree and in consequence Hood outbid Holman and secured the location of the county seat east of Miamisport, where Peru now stands. The growth of Peru was such that long since it has taken Miamisport within its limits. It was ordered vacated in June, 1841. The first courthouse, a brick building forty feet square, was burned down March 16, 1843, destroying all the county records but those of the county commissioners. The Legislature helped to straighten out the situation with the act of December 26, 1843.⁷⁵

White county was to be organized April 1, 1834, but the first county commissioners did not meet until July 19, 1834. The commissioners selected by the Legislature to choose the future county seat made their first report September 5, 1834. They chose the present site of Monticello and left evidence of their political faith in the name which they gave to the new seat of justice.

⁷⁴ *Laws of Indiana, 1839-40*, p. 47.

⁷⁵ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1843-44*, p. 3.

Wabash county was the seventieth and only county organized in 1835. The commissioners named in the legislative act to locate the county seat met May 18, 1835. The next day they selected the site of the present town of Wabash and the day following they made their report to the county commissioners. The first courthouse was a brick structure forty feet square, costing \$3,000. It was finished in 1839 and continued in use until June 17, 1871, when it was destroyed by fire.⁷⁶

The Legislature of 1835-36 organized eight counties: Porter, Adams, Jay, Noble, Fulton, Marshall, Brown, and Kosciusko. The county seat of Porter has always been at Valparaiso, although the first plat, dated July 7, 1836, bears the name of Portersville. The locating commissioners made their selection of Portersville on June 7, 1836, and filed a written report to that effect with the county commissioners on June 9.⁷⁷ They considered three other sites before finally settling upon Portersville. One of these was at Prattville, another at Flint Lake, and the third about a mile and a half northwest of the present site of Valparaiso. The name of the county seat was changed to Valparaiso within the first year and it seems to have been done by the local authorities, since no legislative act has been found authorizing the change. Adams county has always been satisfied with Decatur, its first county seat. The site was offered to the locating commissioners by Samuel Johnson, who offered as an inducement to have the seat of justice located on his land, the sum of \$3,100, four church lots, half an acre for a public square, one acre for a seminary and two acres for a cemetery. He further agreed to pay the expenses of the locating commissioners, and furnish a house to hold court in until suitable buildings could be erected. This was too tempting an offer to be refused and the commissioners promptly accepted the offer "and proceeded to the aforesaid town site, and marked a white oak tree with blazes on four sides, on each of which they individually inscribed their names."⁷⁸ Jay county has never had any county seat conflicts since the first year of its existence. In 1835 and 1836 there was rivalry between Camden and the site of the present town of Portland, Camden being the more important place at that time. The locating commissioners looked with favor on

⁷⁶Helm, T. B., *History of Wabash county*, 1880, p. 122.

⁷⁷*History of Porter and Lake counties*, 1882.

⁷⁸*Illustrated Atlas of Indiana*, 1876, p. 292.

Camden but it was too far from the center of the county to receive serious consideration. The commissioners met on the first Monday in June, 1836, and soon decided upon the site at Portland. A special meeting of the county board of commissioners on December 5, 1836, gave the new county seat the name of Portland. A fine log courthouse was erected in the summer of 1837 for the sum of \$123.25. Noble county has had its full share of trouble in the matter of county seats.⁷⁹ This has been due to the swampy character of the county and the slow migration of settlers. The locating commissioners named in the organization act of February 6, 1836, made their report on May 3, 1836. They chose a site in Sparta township on the old Fort Wayne and Goshen trail in section 24, township 34 north, range 8 east. The town was given the classical name of Sparta (now called Kimmell), but it was not destined to retain its honors very long. No public buildings were ever erected there. Its location in the western part of the county and the desire for a more central location led the citizens to petition the legislature for an act authorizing the removal of the county seat to a more central location. The Legislature granted their petition and passed an act February 4, 1837, naming five commissioners to relocate the seat of justice.⁸⁰ They met on July 3, 1837, at the house of Patrick C. Miller at Wolf Lake, and proceeded to examine the different sites offered. Several new towns had been laid out and all were anxious to secured the coveted honor. Sparta, of course, wanted to be again considered; Van Buren, in York township, was an aspirant; Wolf Lake, the first town laid out in the county, was another; and Augusta and Port Mitchell also had followers. Each offered inducements to secure the coveted location. After looking them all over, the commissioners finally selected Augusta, two miles west of the present town of Albion. This location seemed to give general satisfaction because of its central location, and a courthouse and jail were immediately built there. Until the buildings should be erected at the new location, the Legislature ordered all courts to be held at Wolf Lake. There is but little doubt that the county seat would have remained at Augusta had not the courthouse been destroyed by fire on March 25, 1843. The records of the auditor, clerk, and treasurer were burned and this has rendered it very difficult to write an

⁷⁹ *History of Whitley and Noble Counties*, 1882, p. 41 seq.

⁸⁰ *Laws of Indiana*, 1836-37, p. 113.

authentic history of the beginnings of the county. At this juncture Port Mitchell made a determined effort to secure a legislative act authorizing a relocation of the county seat. The Legislature was acquiescent and the bill was passed January 13, 1844, providing for a commission to relocate the troublesome seat of justice.⁸¹ Port Mitchell must have had some very influential citizens since they succeeded in convincing the locating commissioners that they had the best site. The first Monday in March, 1844, was a day of rejoicing in Port Mitchell, for on that day the commissioners selected their town as the future county seat. Visions of their coming greatness floated before them. Brick buildings arose, a courthouse was erected, and the town boomed with industry. But their joy was short lived. Just two years later, January 10, 1846, the Legislature was induced to pass a bill providing for a vote on the relocation of the county seat.⁸² The act provided for an election on the first Monday of April, 1846, at which the voters should write on their ballots the name of the place where they wished the county seat to be located. Then a second election was to be held on the first Monday of June, at which the names of the three receiving the highest number of votes in the April election were to be voted on. A third and deciding vote was to be taken on the first Monday of August, at which the two places receiving the highest number of votes in the June election were to be voted on. Noble county probably never had a more exciting summer than that of 1846. Speeches were made, special songs were composed, and even parades were added to the campaign. At the April election votes were cast for Port Mitchell, Augusta, Center, Rochester, Ligonier, Springfield, Lisbon, Northport and Wolf Lake. The three highest were Port Mitchell, Augusta and Center. At the June election Center led the field and Port Mitchell beat Augusta by two votes. The whole county now lined up behind one or the other of the two towns. Augusta, indignant at what it called unfair tactics on the part of Port Mitchell in the previous election, threw its strength to Center, with the result that Center won the county seat. The name of the new county seat was changed from Center to Albion within the first year of its official career. On September 16, 1847, the formal transfer of records and offices was made to Albion. Here the county seat has remained, although sev-

⁸¹ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1845-46, p. 66.*

⁸² *Local Laws of Indiana, 1845-46, p. 66.*

eral efforts have been made to remove it and, so some people in the county say, one courthouse has been sacrificed in the struggle. The courthouse at Albion was burned down January 24, 1859, and the circumstances surrounding the catastrophe seemed to indicate that it was the work of incendiaries.⁸³ A new courthouse was ordered immediately and was ready for occupancy in 1861. The construction of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad through Albion in 1874 has probably settled the question of any further changes.

Fulton county was organized in the spring of 1836. Fulton has never had any trouble over county seats. The locating commissioners met on the second Monday of June, 1836, and, after examining several places, determined to establish the county seat at Rochester. There was some effort to secure the location at the crossing of the Michigan road and the Tippecanoe river. Marshall and Brown counties both started their career on April 1, 1836. Plymouth has been the county seat of Marshall from the beginning. Brown county's seat of justice was first called Jacksonburg, but for some reason was changed to Nashville during the first year of its career. The original log jail, built in 1837, is still in use, and is the last log jail in the State doing service. While this article is being prepared the newspapers are noting an agitation to move the county seat from Nashville to Helmsburg, which is the only railroad town in the county.⁸⁴ The business men of Helmsburg have been advocating the change for some time, and will undoubtedly be prepared with a bill to present to the next session of the Legislature.

Warsaw was chosen as the first county seat of Kosciusko county, although the courts were held at Leesburg in 1836, and the latter place for several years was the most populous of the two. Leesburg was the only other place considered when the commissioners made their selection in 1836.

Four new counties were created by the Legislature of 1836-37: Lake, Steuben, DeKalb, and Wells. Lake had more trouble in getting its county seat established than the three other counties combined. Although the locating commissioners were named in the act of January 18, 1837,⁸⁵ which organized the county, nothing had been done until February 17, 1838.⁸⁶ On the latter date the

⁸³ *Logansport Pharos*, February 16, 1859.

⁸⁴ *Indianapolis News*, November 3, 1913.

⁸⁵ *Laws of Indiana*, 1836-37, p. 65.

⁸⁶ *Local Laws of Indiana*, 1837-38, p. 388.

Legislature passed an act establishing a temporary courthouse at the residence of Milo Robinson. The act says, "Whereas, nearly all the lands within the limits of the county of Lake are yet the property of the General Government," it is "impossible at present to make a permanent location of a seat of justice." For this reason the residence of Robinson was "recognized and established the courthouse and the seat of justice of said county." On the same day the Legislature passed another bill selecting two new men on the locating board of commissioners to take the places of two named in the act organizing the county. One man had died and the other refused to serve. This reorganized board, however, did nothing toward locating the county seat, and the next Legislature passed an act, February 14, 1839, creating a new set of commissioners with discretionary authority to locate the seat of justice.⁸⁷ They were to meet at Robinson's courthouse on the first Monday of May, 1839, and proceed to examine all proposed sites. There were three locations offered. The first site, "Lake County Court House," usually written as "Lake C. H.," Cedar Lake and Liverpool. Liverpool was the successful bidder, but the site was not satisfactory to a majority of the citizens. For the third time the Legislature was appealed to, and the third set of locating commissioners was named in the act of February 13, 1840.⁸⁸ The commissioners rode into the county in June, looked over the ground, canvassed the claims and offers of the various sites and finally settled on the site of the original courthouse of Robinson, "Lake County Court House." This name was admitted to be a little too cumbersome and it was suggested that the county agent, George Earle, and the two proprietors, Judge Clark and Solon Robinson, get together and select a new name. They agreed on Crown Point and the county seat has ever since borne that name.⁸⁹

Steuben county had all of its county seat trouble before the first site was selected. The locating commissioners named in the act of January 18, 1837, were ordered to meet "at or near the center of said county on the third Monday of January, 1838," at the house of Cornelius Gilmore.⁹⁰ Two sites were offered for their consideration, the present site of Angola and Steubenville. The Steubenville

⁸⁷ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1838-39*, p. 303.

⁸⁸ *Laws of Indiana, 1839-40*, p. 67.

⁸⁹ Ball, T. H., *Lake County, Indiana, 1878*, p. 86.

⁹⁰ *General Laws of Indiana, 1836-37*, p. 56.

advocates, led by Isaac Glover and Abner Winsor, offered to donate \$16,200, but their site was too far from the center of the county to receive serious consideration. The Steubenville of 1837 was not the same town as the town of that name at the present time. The first Steubenville was north of Pleasant Lake in range 13, township 36, near the line between sections 10 and 15. Angola's claims were presented by Cornelius Gilmore and Thomas Gale, and their offer to give a site for the courthouse and erect the building, was accepted. The central location has proved entirely satisfactory and no other town in the county has ever been considered as the seat of justice.

Dekalb and Wells counties were started on their independent career on May 1, 1837, and their first county seats, Auburn and Bluffton, respectively, have never been changed. A disastrous fire in Auburn on Saturday, February 8, 1913, destroyed the W. H. McIntyre three story brick building in which part of the county records were temporarily placed. Pending the erection of a new courthouse the various county officials had their offices scattered around the square and all the records of the clerk were lost in this fire. Wells, however, required the Legislature to pass a second act providing for a set of locating commissioners. The first board, selected by the act of February 2, 1837, neglected to act, and a new board was named in the act of January 20, 1838.⁹¹ The new board met in March of that year and selected the present site of Bluffton. There were two sites offered, Bluffton and a town called Murray, later known as New Lancaster. Murray offered the best inducements, but the Bluffton adherents carried the day by adding a cash gift of \$270 to the land offer. This, in case of the acceptance of the bid, would furnish a fund for the payment of the commissioners; whereas, if no cash was forthcoming, they must content themselves with county orders, then below par. They probably needed the money, and this cash offer undoubtedly turned the scale in favor of Bluffton.

Jasper and Whitley counties were added to the rapidly growing State by the Legislature of 1837-38. Jasper has had its county seats scattered over more territory than any county in the State. It started as a separate county March 15, 1838, and included not only its present territory but the present county of Newton, and most of Benton as well. The first county seat was located at Parish Grove, thirty miles south of the present seat of justice, and five miles

⁹¹ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1837-38, p. 430.*

southwest of Fowler, the county seat of Benton county. This was chosen because it was near the center of the population and for the additional reason that it was one of the few high and dry spots in the county. Here the county commissioners held their first session in 1838. At this meeting they considered the question of changing the site of the temporary county seat to the cabin of George W. Spitler in what is now Iroquois township, Newton county, if the residents of Pine township (now Parish Grove township, Benton county), were in favor of the change. A petition was ordered circulated in order to get the opinion of the Pine township citizens, and the result showed sixteen in favor and eight against the proposed removal. The change was largely brought about because Spitler had been elected county clerk and he refused to serve unless the place of business was brought nearer to his residence. The county commissioners held their March, 1839, meeting at the home of Spitler, the new temporary county seat. This temporary arrangement was upset by the legislative act of January 29, 1839, which named commissioners from White, Fountain, Warren, and Tippecanoe counties to meet in Jasper county on the first Monday of June, 1839, to examine the counties of Jasper and Newton to see whether they should be consolidated.⁹² If they considered it the best thing for the two counties they were to select a county seat for the enlarged county. Furthermore the new county was to be called Jasper and the county seat Newton. The State commissioners met in June, 1839, and decided that the best interests of the two counties demanded consolidation. They selected the present site of Rensselaer for the county seat although it was called Newton in accordance with the legislative act providing for its location. The original plat of the newly chosen county seat was filed June 12, 1839. The early history of the county is hard to straighten out owing to two destructive fires in the courthouse. The first occurred in 1843 and destroyed practically all the records. The second happened in 1864, and was generally supposed to have been the work of an incendiary who was interested in the destruction of the records. The whole interior and roof of the building was burned and all the papers and records of the county were destroyed except a few which could be saved from the outside.⁹³

⁹² *Laws of Indiana, 1838-39*, p. 83.

⁹³ *History of Warren, Benton, Jasper and Newton, 1888*, p. 452.

Whitley county dates its independent career from April 1, 1838. In June of the same year the first county seat was fixed by the State commissioners on section 19, township 31 north, range 9 east, upon the land owned by L. S. Bayless at the time. As a consideration Bayless was to pay the county \$500 in money, furnish a set of record books, which would cost about \$100, and pay all the expenses of location. This site did not give satisfaction and a petition was sent to the next Legislature asking for a new location. The Legislature granted their prayer and in the act of February 18, 1839, named five commissioners to relocate the county seat.⁹⁴ Only two of them appeared at the appointed time in June and an adjournment was taken until October 19, 1839. On that date they all met and after carefully considering all sites offered, decided to locate the county seat on fractional section 11, township 31 north, range 9 east, on land owned by Elihu Chauncey of Philadelphia. He was to donate 222½ acres and build a saw mill on the land. There was not a white family living within one mile and a half of the site at the time, but its central location had been the determining factor in making the choice. The new town was first called Columbia and later changed to Columbia City.

Blackford and Pulaski counties made their appearance in the spring of 1839. Blackford was cut off from Jay county, the latter county willingly relinquishing the territory because, as one old settler of Jay county said, "It was nothing but a big swamp anyhow." This may account for the trouble the new county experienced in getting its county seat located. In fact it took two separate acts of the Legislature to get the county itself on the map. The first act of February 15, 1838, intended that it should be ready to open for business on the first Monday of April, 1838.⁹⁵ Commissioners were named to locate the county seat, but nothing seems to have been done, for the next year the Legislature started the county agitation again with the act of January 29, 1839.⁹⁶ A new set of commissioners was named to locate the county seat, and they were ordered to do so on the second Monday of the next month. When this second commission reported, and what site they selected, has not been found out, but it must have been unsatisfactory, for the following

⁹⁴ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1838-39*, p. 317.

⁹⁵ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1837-38*, p. 290.

⁹⁶ *Laws of Indiana, 1838-39*, p. 64.

year the Legislature, on February 24, 1840, appointed the third set of State commissioners to locate the county seat.⁹⁷ However, it was provided in the act that it should not take effect "unless a majority of the legal voters of Blackford county, on the first Monday in August next, shall vote for a relocation of the said county seat of Blackford county." It is very evident that the friends of relocation lost out because the following year the Legislature was importuned for the fourth time to pass an act providing for the location of a county seat. The fourth set of commissioners was appointed by the act of February 4, 1841, but it does not appear to have changed the former location.⁹⁸ It seems certain that the second set of locating commissioners selected the present site of Hartford City. The town was at first called Hartford, and later changed to Hartford City at the suggestion of F. L. Shelton.⁹⁹

Pulaski county has always been satisfied with the first county seat selected by the State commissioners. They met on May 6, 1839, and after considering various locations accepted the offer of John Pearson, William Polk, Jesse Jackson, John Brown, John B. Niles and others, and located the county seat at Winamac, on the Tippecanoe river. The town was named in honor of Winamac, a noted chief of the Pottawattomies, who lived at this place.

The year of 1840 ushered in Benton county, its birthday falling on February 18 of that year.¹⁰⁰ The act organizing the county, February 18, 1840, did not for some reason name commissioners to locate a county seat. The courts were ordered to meet at the house of Basil Justus. His home was a short distance south of the present town of Oxford, and here the courts were held for the first three years. The county was gradually settled up and on January 31, 1843, the Legislature named commissioners to locate a county seat.¹⁰¹ The act ordered them to meet on the third Monday of May, 1843, at the house of Basil Justus. They chose a site on section 18, township 34 north, range 7 west, on land donated by Henry W. Ellsworth and David Watkinson. In September, 1843, the county commissioners ordered a courthouse erected at the new

⁹⁷ *Laws of Indiana, 1839-40*, p. 42.

⁹⁸ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1840-41*, p. 202.

⁹⁹ Data on Blackford was furnished by Minta Fordney, librarian of Hartford City library.

¹⁰⁰ *Laws of Indiana, 1839-40*, p. 62.

¹⁰¹ *Local Laws of Indiana, 1842-43*, p. 123.

county seat "in the town of Milroy." The town was named Milroy in honor of Samuel Milroy, one of the locating commissioners, but it being subsequently learned that there was already another town of that name in the State, the board of commissioners at the October session of 1843 "ordered that the seat of justice in Benton county be called Oxford."¹⁰² The entry in the order book shows, however, that in entering this order, the name had first been written Hartford, and that at a subsequent time, and with ink of a different color from that in which the first order was made, the name Hartford had been marked out, and the name Oxford inserted. Just when this change was made has not been ascertained. Thirty years were to elapse before the bitter Oxford-Fowler county seat fight formally opened. Fowler had been laid out in 1871 for the ostensible purpose of making a bid for the county seat. It was, of course, a mistake to put the first county seat as far south as Oxford, the town being three miles from the southern boundary of the county. At the time it was chosen nearly the whole population was in the southern part of the county, but by 1873 the county was well settled, and there was a demand for a more central location. The immediate cause of the opening of hostilities was the condemnation of the courthouse at Oxford. An expert architect reported on March 20, 1873, that the building was beyond repair, and at once the Fowler people planned a campaign to secure the county seat. They saw that if a new courthouse should be built at Oxford that they would have to wait for many years before another opportunity presented itself. Accordingly, they opened a vigorous fight which was marked by injunctions, law suits, mandamuses, and petitions and counter petitions. The commissioners first ordered the new courthouse built at Oxford but when the smoke of battle cleared away, it was seen quietly resting in the town of Fowler. The formal transfer appears to have been made on July 10, 1874. Thus ended a fight which left a bitter feeling between the two rival towns which has not yet died down.¹⁰³

Ohio, Tipton, and Richardville counties were organized in 1844, which brought the total number of counties up to ninety. Ohio county owes its existence to a county seat fight. The origin of Ohio county has been noticed in the discussion of the county seat fight in Dearborn county. There is no doubt but that Ohio county was the

¹⁰² *Commissioners' Record*.

¹⁰³ *History of Warren, Benton, Jasper and Newton Counties, 1888*, p. 241 seq.

result of the three cornered struggle between Lawrenceburgh, Wilmington and Rising Sun for the county seat of Dearborn county. Rising Sun; of course, became the county seat of the new county upon its organization.

Tipton and Richardville counties, organized largely out of the old Miami Reserve, were formally organized on May 1, 1844. The first named county conferred a double honor on John Tipton, having both itself and its county seat named after him. Tipton has been the county seat from the first and has had but one incident in its whole career to cause it any trouble. This occurred in January, 1858, when the old log courthouse, the first one built, was totally destroyed by fire. It is supposed that the desire of the citizens for a new building fully accounts for the conflagration.

Richardville county was nearly all within the old Miami Reserve, and this fact, together with a deference not usually shown, led the Legislature to name the new county in honor of Richardville, a Miami chief, and successor of Little Turtle. This fine sentiment toward the Indian soon disappeared, and the Legislature was called upon to rename the county. On December 28, 1846, the Legislature passed its first and only act changing the name of a county in Indiana.¹⁰⁴ The county was rechristened Howard, in honor of Tilghman A. Howard, a noted Indiana statesman of that time.

Starke was next to the last county organized in the State. It was cut off from Marshall county and started its independent career on January 15, 1850.¹⁰⁵ The locating commissioners established the county seat on April 1, 1850, at the present site of Knox. There was no town there at the time, but the site was chosen because of its central location.

The ninety-second and last county in Indiana made its formal debut December 9, 1859. It had been organized in 1839 but the next year it was consolidated with Jasper and continued as a part of that county for the next twenty years. There was a struggle of three years to get the county started.¹⁰⁶ In 1857 it became known that there was an effort being made to form a new county out of Jasper with a county seat on the Kankakee river. The citizens of Jasper county living west of range 7 at once called a meeting at

¹⁰⁴ *Local Laws of Indiana*, 1846-47, p. 261.

¹⁰⁵ *Laws of Indiana*, 1849-50, p. 218.

¹⁰⁶ Ade; John, *Newton county*, 1912, p. 56 seq.

Morocco and resolved to petition the commissioners of Jasper county to set off a new county to be known as Beaver. Afterward, but at the same meeting, the name was changed to Newton. The petition as presented at the September meeting of the commissioners carried the name of nearly every voter of the western half of Jasper. The citizens of the other half of Jasper protested against the division of the county and two days later the petition was dismissed on the ground that some of the names had been attached to the petition before the law authorizing a division had taken place. But the citizens of the proposed county were not to be denied. Within twenty-four hours horsemen were dispatched throughout the proposed county with the result that a second petition was ready to lay before the commissioners representing an overwhelming majority of the citizens. Although the board had adjourned to meet in the morning, the petition was ready to be handed in, the commissioners heard of the desperate efforts of the citizens of the western half of the county and failed to show up. Nothing was done now until the December meeting when the Kankakee people presented a counter petition to organize a county with a county seat on the Kankakee. Their petition was dismissed and the Newton county petition granted. An appeal was taken to the circuit court, then to the supreme court, where the Newton county citizens were sustained. This decision was handed down in November, 1859, and on December 8, 1859, the commissioners of Jasper county made the final order on their records defining the boundaries of the new county. Kent, a town two miles from the southern line of the county, was made the county seat. Morocco, Brook, Beaver City, and a point about three miles east of Morocco were also considered by the commissioners. Since 1860 there have been nine efforts to locate the county seat at a more central point. Taking advantage of the act of March, 1855, whereby a county seat may be relocated upon a petition of two-thirds of the legal voters of a county, the advocates of Beaver City presented such a petition to the commissioners on September 6, 1860. They had already erected a courthouse on the proposed site, an exact duplicate of the one at Kent. The commissioners ruled that the petition did not have the necessary two-thirds and dismissed the petition. The town of Brook made a second effort to secure the coveted honor and on June 3, 1861, presented a petition which they claimed contained two-thirds of the voters, but they were overruled.

on the ground that many of the signers had joined the army and were therefore not legal voters. Beaver City tried again on May 17, 1869, to get the county seat but two days later their petition was dismissed. Morocco made the fourth attempt on March 10, 1870, but they withdrew their petition for some cause not disclosed on the following day. Two years later Brook again appeared in the field and on December 24, 1872, presented a petition bearing 902 names but it was set aside the day following. Morocco must have had some energetic citizens, for on June 19, 1876, they started a determined fight and were not defeated until the case had been carried from the commissioners' court to the Newton county circuit court, from there to the Jasper county circuit court, thence to the Tippecanoe circuit court, and finally, to the supreme court of the State. These six attempts had been made under the law of 1855 and no further efforts were made to secure relocation until after the law of March 2, 1899.¹⁰⁷ The law was backed by the people of Morocco and provided that an election for or against relocation shall be held upon the petition of four hundred legal voters, two hundred of whom must have been free holders at the last general election. If sixty-five per cent. of the voters favor relocation, the change must be made. Backed by the act, the citizens of Morocco presented on April 2, 1900, a petition in accordance with the act, and an election was held on June 19, 1900. The vote stood 1,515 for relocation and 1,415 opposed to a change. Since the petitioners had failed to secure the necessary sixty-five per cent. of the vote cast, the county seat remained at Kentland. Brook made the eighth attempt with a petition presented July 3, 1900. The election was held September 25, 1900, at which time 1,337 votes were cast for relocation and 1,208 against it. And Kentland still remained the county seat. The ninth and last attempt was made by Goodland in the same year. On October 1 a petition was presented in accordance with the law of 1899, and the commissioners set the election for January 30, 1901. The Kentland people took an appeal to the circuit court, which sustained the commissioners. The case was carried to the supreme court and on March 19, 1902, it sustained the action of the circuit court, and ordered the commissioners to fix another date for election. They selected June 7, 1902, and at that time 1,834 votes were cast for relocation and 697 against the same.

¹⁰⁷ *Laws of Indiana, 1899, p. 210.*

Kentland had apparently been beaten at last, for the necessary sixty-five per cent. was in favor of removing the county seat to Goodland. But the end was not yet. The case was taken from the commissioners' court to the Newton county circuit court, from there it was venued to White county, from White county it was carried to the supreme court of the State and the latter in November, 1903, in a lengthy decision decided in favor of Kentland. In order to forestall such a close call again, Kentland began to agitate the question of a new courthouse and on April 3, 1905, a contract was let for a new courthouse for the sum of \$26,195. The advocates of relocation now made their last desperate fight and tried by every legal means to stop the erection of the proposed building. The case finally landed in the supreme court and a decision of that court on June 30, 1905, stopped everything. By this time the building was started, the foundation laid and the side walls up to the second story. Another year of legal warfare ensued but the building was finally completed and turned over to the county on August 6, 1906. Kentland now bids fair to hold the county seat for several years to come without having to undergo any effort to retain it.

Thus ends the story of the county seats of Indiana up to 1914, but there is good reason to believe that succeeding years will see further changes. The hundred years of Indiana history have seen thirty-nine counties with from two to seven county seats each, and a total of one hundred and thirty-five towns in the State which have been county seats at some time.

APPENDIX

The following table shows the order in which the counties were organized, the date of the organizing act, and the date when the organization was actually made by the commissioners appointed for that purpose:

	Date of Legislative Act.	Date Act Became Effective.
1. Knox -----	June 20, 1790	1790
2. Clark -----	Feb. 3, 1801	1801
3. Dearborn -----	Mar. 7, 1803	1803
4. Harrison -----	Oct. 11, 1808	Dec. 1, 1808
5. Jefferson -----	Nov. 23, 1810	Feb. 1, 1811
6. Franklin -----	Nov. 27, 1810	Feb. 1, 1811
7. Wayne -----	Nov. 27, 1810	Feb. 1, 1811
8. Warrick -----	Mar. 9, 1813	April 1, 1813
9. Gibson -----	Mar. 9, 1813	April 1, 1813
10. Washington -----	Dec. 21, 1813	Jan. 17, 1814
11. Switzerland -----	Sept. 7, 1814	Oct. 1, 1814

	Date of Legislative Act.	Date Act Became Effective.
12. Posey	Sept. 7, 1814	Nov. 1, 1814
13. Perry	Sept. 7, 1814	Nov. 1, 1814
14. Jackson	Dec. 18, 1815	Jan. 1, 1816
15. Orange	Dec. 26, 1815	Feb. 1, 1816
16. Sullivan	Dec. 30, 1816	Jan. 15, 1817
17. Jennings	Dec. 27, 1816	Feb. 1, 1817
18. Pike	Dec. 21, 1816	Feb. 1, 1817
19. Daviess	Dec. 24, 1816	Feb. 15, 1817
20. Dubois	Dec. 20, 1817	Feb. 1, 1818
21. Spencer	Jan. 10, 1818	Feb. 1, 1818
22. Vanderburgh	Jan. 7, 1818	Feb. 1, 1818
23. Vigo	Jan. 21, 1818	Feb. 15, 1818
24. Crawford	Jan. 29, 1818	Mar. 1, 1818
25. Lawrence	Jan. 7, 1818	Mar. 1, 1818
26. Monroe	Jan. 14, 1818	April 10, 1818
27. Ripley	Dec. 27, 1816 Jan. 14, 1818	April 10, 1818
28. Randolph	Jan. 10, 1818	Aug. 10, 1818
29. Owen	Dec. 21, 1818	Jan. 1, 1819
30. Fayette	Dec. 28, 1818	Jan. 1, 1819
31. Floyd	Jan. 2, 1819	Feb. 2, 1819
32. Scott	Jan. 12, 1820	Feb. 1, 1820
33. Martin	Jan. 17, 1820	Feb. 1, 1820
34. Union	Jan. 5, 1821	Feb. 1, 1821
35. Greene	Jan. 5, 1821	Feb. 5, 1821
36. Bartholomew	Jan. 8, 1821	Feb. 12, 1821
37. Parke	Jan. 9, 1821	April 2, 1821
38. Morgan	Dec. 31, 1821	Feb. 15, 1822
39. Decatur	Dec. 31, 1821	Mar. 4, 1821
40. Shelby.	Jan. 3, 1822	April 1, 1822
41. Rush	Dec. 31, 1821	April 1, 1822
42. Marion	Dec. 31, 1821	April 1, 1822
43. Putnam	Dec. 31, 1821	April 1, 1822
44. Henry	Dec. 31, 1821	June 1, 1822
45. Montgomery	Dec. 21, 1822	Mar. 1, 1823
46. Hamilton	Jan. 8, 1823	April 7, 1823
47. Johnson	Dec. 21, 1822	May 5, 1823
48. Madison	Jan. 4, 1820	July 1, 1823
49. Vermillion	Jan. 2, 1824	Feb. 1, 1824
50. Allen	Dec. 17, 1823	April 1, 1824
51. Hendricks	Dec. 20, 1823	April 1, 1824
52. Clay	Feb. 12, 1825	April 1, 1825
53. Tippecanoe	Jan. 20, 1826	Mar. 1, 1826
54. Fountain	Dec. 31, 1825	April 1, 1826
55. Warren	Mar. 1, 1827	Mar. 1, 1827
56. Delaware	Jan. 20, 1820	April 1, 1827

	Date of Legislative Act.	Date Act Became Effective.
	Jan. 26, 1827	
57. Hancock	Jan. 26, 1827	Mar. 1, 1828
	Dec. 24, 1827	
58. Carroll	Jan. 7, 1828	May 1, 1828
59. Cass	Dec. 18, 1828	April 13, 1829
60. Clinton	Jan. 21, 1830	Mar. 1, 1830
61. St. Joseph	Jan. 29, 1830	April 1, 1830
62. Elkhart	Jan. 29, 1830	April 1, 1830
63. Boone	Feb. 10, 1831	April 1, 1831
64. Grant	Jan. 9, 1832	April 1, 1832
65. Laporte	Feb. 2, 1832	April 1, 1832
66. Lagrange	Feb. 2, 1832	April 1, 1832
67. Huntington	Feb. 2, 1832	Dec. 2, 1834
	Feb. 1, 1834	
68. Miami	Jan. 2, 1834	Mar. 1, 1834
	Feb. 1, 1834	
69. White	Feb. 2, 1832	April 1, 1834
70. Wabash	Jan. 22, 1835	Mar. 1, 1835
	Jan. 28, 1836	
71. Porter	Jan. 26, 1827	Feb. 1, 1836
72. Adams	Feb. 2, 1835	Mar. 1, 1836
	Jan. 23, 1836	
	Jan. 30, 1836	
73. Jay	Feb. 6, 1836	Mar. 1, 1836
74. Noble	Jan. 23, 1836	Mar. 1, 1836
75. Fulton	Feb. 4, 1836	April 1, 1836
76. Marshall	Feb. 4, 1836	April 1, 1836
77. Brown	Feb. 4, 1836	April 1, 1836
78. Kosciusko	Jan. 18, 1837	June 1, 1837
79. Lake	Jan. 18, 1837	Feb. 15, 1837
80. Steuben	Jan. 14, 1837	May 1, 1837
81. DeKalb	Feb. 2, 1837	May 1, 1837
82. Wells	Feb. 17, 1838	May 1, 1837
83. Jasper	Feb. 17, 1838	Mar. 15, 1838
84. Whitley	Jan. 29, 1839	April 1, 1839
85. Blackford	Feb. 18, 1839	After pub., 1839
86. Pulaski	Feb. 18, 1840	May 6, 1840
87. Benton	Jan. 4, 1840	Feb. 18, 1840
88. Ohio	Jan. 15, 1844	Mar. 1, 1844
89. Tipton	Jan. 15, 1844	May 1, 1844
90. *Richardville	Jan. 15, 1850	May 1, 1844
91. Starke	Jan. 15, 1844	Jan. 15, 1850
92. †Newton	Jan. 29, 1839	Dec. 9, 1859

*Richardville County was changed to Howard County by the Act of December 23, 1846.

†Newton County was first organized by the Act of 1838, but it was later joined to Jasper. The date, December 9, 1850, was the order of the Jasper County Commissioners formally authorizing its separation from Jasper.

AN EARLY INDIANA SURVEYOR—LAZARUS B. WILSON

By ALMA WINSTON WILSON (his tenth child)

The families of Wilson, Jennings and Tomlinson crossed the Atlantic with the colony following William Penn about the year 1685. All were from England, and being of the same "Meeting" of Quakers, were all Friends, and relatives. They settled first in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and from there moved to different parts of the adjacent country.

Thomas Wilson, my grandfather, was born January 13, 1753, and died at Sprigs Mill, Washington County, Maryland—five miles north of Hagerstown—December 14, 1798. He lived in Bucks County at the time of his enlistment in the Revolutionary Army, as lieutenant, in Captain Joseph Tomlinson's company, and later, left his company for three days—to be married to his captain's sister, Miss Sarah Tomlinson, May 20, 1778. Returning to the scene of war, he served faithfully to the end, assisting in receiving the standards from Cornwallis' army when he surrendered at Yorktown.

In a book entitled *The Boys of '76*, the author, Charles Carleton Coffin, makes mention of that event; although he makes a mistake in stating the age of the young sergeant to be eighteen instead of twenty-eight.

At the close of the war Thomas Wilson, with his young family, moved to Franklin county, Pennsylvania, where, on March 2, 1795, his seventh child, Lazarus Brown Wilson, was born. But before this seventh child had reached his seventh year, he was bereft of both parents, and was taken to Hagerstown, Maryland, to live with older members of the family. It was there he grew into boyhood, and from boyhood to manhood; and when in 1812 the call was made to "beat your plowshares into swords," this tall, stalwart boy bid good-bye to his loved ones and marched with his comrades to Baltimore, where he was mustered in Captain Thomas Quantrill's Company of Fowler's 39th Regiment, Maryland Militia, and was at the battles of Fort McHenry and North Point.

As a girl of fourteen years, studying United States history, it was my habit to commit my lesson to memory after supper, and recite it to my father before he retired. Well do I remember the night when, as he sat on one side of the table and I on the other, in the sitting-room of the old homestead, I handed him the history, saying, "I'm ready." As he slowly arranged his spectacles he asked, "Daughter, what is your lesson about tonight?" "Fort McHenry and North Point," I replied. And as he took the history he closed it, and laying it on the table, said: "Well, daughter, I can tell you more about those battles than your book can." "How so?" said I. "Because I was there," he replied.

And then he began the story of how his regiment—and history tells us that there were four hundred and fifty picked men of Fowler's 39th Regiment who with other detachments formed the garrison,—marched all day in a cold September rain, to Baltimore, and at nightfall he and his comrades were too exhausted to eat their rations, and, spreading their blankets on the wet ground, each man rolled himself up as a bundle and lay all night with the rain falling upon him.

You know the rest—how the British regulars fired and fled; how the British ships poured shot and shell into Fort McHenry from sunrise, September 13th, to sunrise, September 14, 1814; and while my father was one, who was giving shot for shot and was defending the flag behind the fort, Francis Scott Key, held as a prisoner on a British war ship in the harbor, watched through the port-hole

The rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there,

* * *

And the Star Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

For this service my father received the land warrant ordered by Congress, March 3, 1855, numbered 56,941. The war over, he left home, as many a youth has done, to carve his own name on the pages of history, and with one companion, went, in a canoe, down the river from Pittsburgh to Natchez, and there began the active pursuit of fortune. His retentive mind, love of nature and books, and a thirst for knowledge, must have enabled him to gather up the elements of a higher education by the way, for in 1822 he was engaged as a surveyor and civil engineer in Missouri, in which employment he

became identified with the surveys and public works all over this western wilderness.

He then came to Indiana, making a temporary stop at Paoli, in Orange County, reaching Indianapolis for permanent residence about 1825. Here he was a companion and co-laborer of that class of first citizens upon whom rested the growth and development of the town which they had founded. He secured valuable property, much of which was afterward sunk in his excessive zeal for railroad improvement, for the generation of restless travelers was not yet born, and the immigrant had not yet found "The Promised Land." In 1828 he was employed by the State as engineer in the system of Internal Improvements, the chief of which was the Wabash and Erie Canal. He was civil engineer on the "National Road" from Pittsburgh to St. Louis in 1832 to 1838, but when word reached the little town of Indianapolis, in June, 1832, that Black Hawk, chief of the Sac Indians, was on his way to scalp the pioneers of Indiana, there was a call for volunteers, and again his patriotic zeal asserted itself, and with a company, organized by Captain Drake, armed with rifles, tomahawks and knives, he marched to Fort Dearborn (now Chicago) under command of Colonel Russell, where the brave volunteers, ready to protect their families and homes at any cost, found that Indiana was not invaded, and the troops she raised were not needed; but there was every reason for the terror of the settlers and their prompt response, as Black Hawk was known to be a cunning and skillful leader. On their return home the company was christened and heralded as the Bloody Three Hundred, a name by which it is known in history to this day.

The next important event in the life of Lazarus B. Wilson may be introduced by a letter he wrote to Mary Todd Barbee, of Paris, Kentucky, a beautiful girl of nineteen, who was visiting her aunt, Mrs. John G. Brown, in the homestead which stood fronting Meridian street on ground now covered by the Federal Building. It is as follows:

Fort Wayne, April 6th, 1833.

MY DEAR MARY:

You gave me permission to write *one* letter to you and that one, I will give now. As I am extremely anxious to hear from you; and I cannot reasonably anticipate a letter until after I shall have written. The time appears long—very long, my dear Mary, since I left you: and yet it is as nothing, compared with

that which must yet elapse before I shall enjoy the pleasure of seeing you again.

But the promise of Mary to make me the happiest man in Indiana, when I return, affords me the most pleasing anticipations of future bliss; and my heart assures me that there is an "eye will mark my coming, and look brighter when I come." Does it deceive me, my dear Mary? Does it flatter me, when it would persuade me, that in Mary, I meet with a corresponding feeling of affection? I hope it does not—for it is so sweet a thing to love—to know that the object of our love, is worthy of all our affections: And to feel that we are beloved by that being whom we adore—nay—almost worship—constitutes so happy a state of feeling—so much of heaven on earth, that I would not forego it—even if it were ideal, only. But I must change the topic.

I arrived here on the evening of the fourth day—I found the road much better than I had expected—and the weather pleasant—tho' cold.

Fort Wayne is a larger place than I had expected to find. And it is handsomely situated, on the south bank of the St. Mary's river—down which it extends eastward, to the old Fort, which is at the junction of the last mentioned stream with the St. Joseph's—here they form the Maumee river. I am thus minute; as this may become your place of residence. In regard to the inhabitants I can say but little; as I have become acquainted with but few—and with none of your sex. Mr. William's Lady,¹ is at this time in Chillicothe at her father's;²—but she will meet him in Piqua about the 20th of next month to return to this place (which will be about the 24th.) I will then immediately start to Indianapolis, to bring my dear lovely Mary; but before that day arrives, I shall expect to receive several letters from her. And upon the receipt of the first one, I promise to give her one thrice the length of this, in answer. In conclusion, my dear Mary, let me urge you to give me an early answer—I hope you will be able to inform me that your dear Aunt has regained her health. I shall ever esteem her very highly, for telling me that Mary was a good girl—Give me what news you have from Kentucky—And all the news in Indianapolis.

The mails are so irregular between this place and Indianapolis; that if you should defer writing for one week, after you receive this—your answer may not reach me before this time next month: Direct to Fort Wayne.

We meet with the natives every day. Men, squaws and papoos. And I have no doubt, but that, I could have a very neat pair of moccasins made, if I only knew the length, in inches and parts of an inch, of a certain little foot. Perhaps you may say, that I have

¹ Mr. Jesse L. Williams.

² Judge Creighton.

seen it, often enough to retain a recollection of its length; this may be true; but to look well, it should fit very neatly.

This is a lovely night—the moon has risen from her watery bed, and seems to weep, because the dense atmosphere which hangs like a murky curtain along the eastern horizon, clouds or obscures the lusture of her borrowed beams. The clouds have disappeared, and the winds have crept into their caves; all is silent and calm, save a single voice, and that is the voice of a woman—lovely woman, and altho' two tenements off—I can distinguish the words of "home sweet home". Oh! this is a sweet song to a stranger. It calls him back to the society of friends most dear to him; to scenes most lovely and sacred—to acts of kindness—and words of love: It wakes a recollection, which is pleasing—because it is mournful, and mournful, because it portrays scenes of "joy departed, never to return."

Remember me with much kindness to your Aunt and Uncle and, to the "Forest Bride," and believe me to remain, ever my dear Mary,

Yours

L. B. WILSON.

Their marriage was celebrated at noon, June 18, 1833, the bridal couple leaving immediately in the stage coach for Fort Wayne, where my father was then engaged in the Government survey. Fifty-six descendants have loved their name and honored their memory.

The old covered bridge across White river at Washington street, removed a few years ago was built from plans furnished by him, the work being completed in 1834. As civil engineer, he surveyed, located, and superintended the construction of the railroad from New Albany to Michigan City, from the time of its beginning to its completion, and was then offered its superintendence, which he declined. He was among the first and most zealous advocates of railroads. Indeed, it was said of him, that on that subject he was a quarter of a century in advance of his times, contributing largely to their success, though losing money in so doing. As a prophet of the railroad, he lived to see the fulfillment of his predictions, which were considered visionary when they were made.

In 1844 and '45 he was president of the common council. In 1848 he visited Philadelphia, New York and Boston on business connected with the Internal Improvements. During the sixties, when age forbade active participation in the Civil War, it was his eldest son, Oliver,³ who gave expression to the patriotic zeal of his father,

³ Major Oliver M. Wilson.

and marched away to southern battlefields as captain in the 54th Indiana Volunteers. From that time on, my father lived a life of retirement, and my mind recalls the time when a large circle gathered on Sabbath evenings around the open fireplace in the old homestead, and at twilight, his strong voice was heard with others, in singing, the old familiar hymns, "Safely through another week," "There is a land of pure delight," and many more of precious memory. But the voices of that hearth are still and the circle that gathered on Sabbath evening is broken, and only a memory.

For forty-two years he shared with his beloved Mary, the same joys and sorrows which fall to the lot of many of God's children, and on April 10, 1875, after all Life's battles had been fought, "Death came as the benediction, that follows after Prayer."

"But to live in hearts we leave behind is not to die."

His body was interred in Crown Hill cemetery, Indianapolis, where, surrounded by those he loved in life, he rests, "Until the day-break and the shadows flee away."

THE NEWSPAPERS OF RUSH COUNTY

By JOHN F. MOSES, Former Editor of the *Rushville Republican*,
Rushville, Indiana

Rush county's first printer, publisher and editor was William D. M. Wickham. By the very few now living who knew him he is remembered as a tall, angular man, of eccentric manners and speech. According to the late Dr. John Arnold (long an authority on local history), Mr. Wickham issued the first number of a little paper, about ten by twelve inches in size, at Rushville, either late in 1822 or early in 1823, under the whimsical title of the *Dog Fennel Gazette*. This was very soon after the organization of Rush county. Although it is said to have been published for several years, no copies are known to be in existence at this time. Dr. Arnold describes the printing press as the top of a sycamore stump. The impression was made with a lever—a sapling let into a mortise in a tree which stood close beside the stump. Another version of the story is that the printer secured his “power” at the corner of a stout rail fence. Later, Wickham built himself a better machine of timbers, which he humorously called “Wickham’s Velocity Press.” The home and printing office were under the same roof.

Mr. Wickham made a second venture with the *True American*, the first number of which is dated September 17, 1831. This was a four-column folio, with columns 12 inches long, and was printed on a sheet 13 by 21½ inches in size. In his “salutatory” the editor admits a Jacksonian bias, but promises to “meddle with politics very sparingly,” and to give his patrons “the best reading obtainable, including Foreign and Domestic Intelligence, Legislative and Congressional Proceedings, Miscellany, and the production of the Muse.” A three-line notice of a meeting of the Circuit Court is the sole item of local news in this first issue; but the advertisements afford a glimpse of the life of the village. These represent one merchant, a druggist, a milliner, a shoemaker, two lawyers, a militia muster, a local lottery and a stray horse. Subscriptions were invited on a sliding scale commencing with one dollar a year,

cash in advance. Any kind of "merchantable produce" was a good tender.

The *True American* does not seem to have prospered, for under date of January 5, 1833, Mr. Wickham brought out the *Rushville Gazette* as "a continuation of the *True American*." The columns of the new paper were four inches longer than those of the old one, but they soon shrank to the same length. The sheet was much too large for the printed pages, leaving great margins, which excited mirth among "envious contemporaries." On one occasion when Mr. Wickham's pages were full and he printed the report of a local election on the margin of his paper, their gibes provoked an interchange of heated and uncomplimentary remarks. Reference is made in the first number of the *Gazette* to "many attempts and frequent failures to establish a press in Rushville"; but names of other papers, if there were others, are not mentioned.

The next paper in order, the *Indiana Herald and Rushville Gazette*, was probably the direct successor of the *Rushville Gazette*, as its name is included in that of the new paper. This was a folio with six wide columns to the page. It shows good work, both editorially and mechanically, and was Whig in politics. Its founders were Samuel Davis of Covington, Kentucky, and Thomas Wallace of Chillicothe, Ohio, who met as printers in Cincinnati, and there formed a friendship which led to this venture. Their first number bears the date of March 7, 1835. The publication was continued by them until December, 1839, when Corydon Donnavan became owner. Mr. Davis returned to Covington, his former home. Mr. Wallace remained in Rushville, served two terms as county treasurer, and afterwards returned to the newspaper business. In 1862, he laid aside his work one "press day," to enlist in the 16th Indiana Infantry. He died in the army some six months later.

Mr. Donnavan, the new proprietor, changed both the name of the paper and its politics, issuing his first number December 13, 1839, as Volume I, No. 1, of the *Hoosier and Rushville Democratic Archive*, with appropriate politics. Its history will be given farther on.

The Whigs being thus left without an organ, Pleasant A. Hackleman, a leading lawyer of Rushville, joined with his brother, Oliver C. Hackleman, and on the 25th of April, 1840, brought out the *Rushville Whig*. New material was shipped from Cincinnati to

Laurel by canal and wagoned from there to Rushville, which had no railroad at that time. P. A. Hackleman was editor and made the paper a force in Indiana politics. In April, 1843, the property passed into the hands of R. F. Brown. P. A. Hackleman, who continued as editor, was an orator and writer of great power. He served as clerk of Rush county, was one of Lincoln's Peace Commissioners at the outbreak of the Civil War, afterwards Colonel of the 16th Indiana Regiment, and had reached the rank of Brigadier-General when he was killed in battle at Corinth, Mississippi. His brother Oliver spent most of his remaining years as a farmer. The Rush County Farmers' Insurance Association, which he organized, is a monument to his foresight, courage and public spirit. He died in Rushville at an advanced age.

R. F. Brown sold the *Whig* in 1846 to Granville Cowing and Norval W. Cox, two young Rushville printers, who changed its name to the *True Republican*, but continued it as a strong Whig paper, with General Hackleman as editor. After his newspaper days ended, Mr. Cowing held a position in the United States Treasury Department at Washington. For many years he has lived at Muncie, devoting himself to horticulture. Mr. Cox moved to Kansas, was a member of the Leavenworth City Council, and served with credit in a Kansas regiment in the Civil War. He finally settled in Little Rock, Arkansas, where he was for six years clerk of the Arkansas Supreme Court, for seventeen years clerk of the Little Rock school board and was Grand Master of the Arkansas Odd-Fellows one term. He died in 1896. Very little is known to the present writer about R. F. Brown after his leaving Rushville. At the close of 1884, while he was publishing the *St. Paris (O.) Dispatch*, his office burned, and he was seeking another location.

From this time on, frequent changes of owners mark the fluctuating fortunes of the early Rushville newspapers. In 1848, the names of T. Wallace & G. Cowing succeeded those of G. Cowing & N. W. Cox as publishers of the *True Republican*. In 1850-51, the firm name was T. Wallace and D. M. Bell. Three changes occurred in 1852. Thomas Wallace had it in May; D. M. Bell & Co. followed in September; and in October the editor was the late George C. Clark, for many years afterwards President of the Rushville National Bank. Before the end of the year, the paper suspended, having reached its 17th volume (including the *Whig*.)

On the 5th of January, 1853, the *True Republican* reappeared under the capable management of A. M. Cowing and Thomas J. Kemper, who started off with Vol. I, No. 1, of a new series. In 1854, these gentlemen changed the name to the *Rushville Republican*. In 1855, Nathan Shadinger bought Kemper's interest, and the style changed to A. M. Cowing & Co. In July of the same year, A. M. Cowing sold his interest to Lycurgus J. Cox and William J. Cowing and the name of the firm became Shadinger, Cox & Cowing. In 1856, they changed the name to the *Rushville Weekly Republican*. In 1859, Mr. Shadinger dropped out. During the Civil War he entered the Union service and was an officer in a negro regiment. His two partners successfully continued the business under the name of Cox & Cowing until October 24, 1860, when Andrew Hall bought the office.

William J. Cowing removed to Washington City, to take a position in the Agricultural Department and becoming financially interested in the street railways of that city, made his home there to the end of his life.

Mr. Hall, who came next in order, had lived in Kansas during the stirring period of the Kansas-Nebraska troubles and had actively supported the Free-State movement. The management of the *Republican* rested on him during the trying first three years of the Civil War. The pinch of war-time conditions caused him to reduce the size of the paper for part of the time. He retired March 16, 1864, but re-engaged in the newspaper business at Kentland, Indiana, served as clerk of Newton county and died there.

His successor was L. J. Cox, who put off the editorial harness again June 21, 1865. Mr. Cox spent all his life in Rushville, which was his native town.

Lieut. Winfield S. Conde, home from honorable service in the 52d Indiana Infantry, succeeded him. January 3, 1866, William H. Shumm became a partner. He took over the whole business January 22, 1868, with Alexander B. Campbell as editor and continued until September 9, 1868. The name of George W. Bates appeared as local editor at one time. All of these men are dead except Mr. Conde, who still lives near Rushville. During the whole of the Civil War the *Republican* ardently supported the Union cause.

Drebert & Harrison, of Connersville, bought the *Republican* October 6, 1869. Harrison's name was dropped June 4, 1872.

Frank T. Drebert was a good printer and an editorial writer of unusual ability. He sold the office to Charles W. Stivers, of Liberty, Indiana, August 17, 1876. For many years afterwards he published papers at Owatonna and Chatfield, Minnesota, and died in that state.

At the end of six months Mr. Stivers sold the *Republican* to John F. Moses, of Huntington, Indiana (Feb. 1, 1877.) As already stated, Rush county's first newspaper was printed on a home-made press. For nearly half a century following, its successors were laboriously "worked off" on the old Washington hand press, then in general use, at a speed of about 200 sheets an hour. In the summer of 1879, the *Republican* put in a hand cylinder press, the first in the county, which would hardly meet present day needs; but people used to crowd the press room on publication days, to see the new machine turn off 700 or 800 sheets an hour.

April 1, 1881, Mr. Moses sold the *Republican* to Capt. Ulysses D. Cole, of Indianapolis, with whom he had formerly been associated in the publication of the *Huntington Herald*. Henry Holt, later of the *Franklin Republican*, and for many years past an attorney in Indianapolis, was Mr. Cole's local editor. He was succeeded by Carl R. Martin, afterwards founder of papers at Roslyn and Clellum, Washington. In 1882, Mr. Moses resumed editorial work on the *Republican*, and bought a half interest in the property January 1, 1884. At that time the firm name was changed to the *Republican Company*, which it still bears. Captain Cole was an excellent newspaper man, retired in 1887, in bad health, and died several years ago. Jacob Feudner acquired an interest in the property January 24, 1884. The *Republican*, which had been a six-column quarto for several years, was made a semi-weekly in 1891. Mr. Moses retired April 1, 1903, having been editor of the *Republican* for 26 years. Jacob Feudner, who then became owner of the property, still carries on the business. He started the daily edition in 1904. At different times, Will G. McVey, John Rutledge, Edward Hancock, Claude Simpson, Clifford Lee, Thomas J. Geraghty, B. O. Simpson, Allen Hiner and Roy Harrold have done reportorial work on the paper, the last-named being still in office.

What goes before traces in outline the fortunes of the *Rushville Whig* and its successor, the *Rushville Republican*, from the beginning to the present time. The Democratic chronology is as follows:

As already indicated, Rush county's first three newspapers—the *Dog Fennel Gazette*, the *True American* and the *Rushville Gazette*—all founded and published by Wm. D. Wickham, were Democratic in their sympathies. The fourth paper in the succession—the *Indiana Herald and Rushville Gazette*—established by Davis & Wallace in 1835 as a Whig paper, was sold to Corydon Donnavan in 1840. He changed its name to the *Hoosier and Rushville Democratic Archive*, and put it in line with Democratic policies.

In 1845, the property came into the hands of Samuel S. Bratton, who at once dropped the inconvenient title and issued his first number as Vol. I, No. 1, of the *Jacksonian*, a name which it still bears. The lack of complete files makes it necessary to trace ownership and editorship at some periods by stray copies of the paper.

From October 16, 1850, to February 22, 1854, George W. Hargitt published the paper under the name of the *Indiana Jacksonian*. April 12, 1855, it appears as the *Rushville Jacksonian*, with B. Burns as editor, and John L. Robinson as corresponding editor. Mr. Robinson, who was a native of Rush county, afterwards achieved much distinction in his party. He was county clerk, a member of Congress and U. S. marshal for Indiana. For years he was very influential in shaping his party's policies in Indiana. October 29, 1850, B. Burns and D. M. Bell controlled the *Jacksonian*. From October 22, 1858, to October 20, 1859, it carried the name of Robert J. Price, and suspended on the date last named. It reappeared December 23, 1859, with Thomas Wallace as publisher and John L. Robinson and Ethelbert C. Hibben as editors. A month later Mr. Robinson was sole proprietor and publisher. Robert J. Price and Thomas Marlatt succeeded him October 5th, that year. On the 4th of April, 1861, William A. Cullen and Cyrus Crawford took charge, the former as editor. August 21st, following, Rodney L. Davis supplanted Mr. Crawford and the paper appeared as Vol. I, No. 1, of a new series. Mr. Cullen was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 123d Indiana Infantry (mustered into service March 9, 1864), and identified himself with the Republican party until 1896. He was probate and circuit judge, served in both houses of the Legislature and was for many years a leading member of the Rush county bar.

The *Jacksonian* opposed the war for the Union, and the party divided on war issues. Patronage fell off and the paper suspended

publication—for how long it does not appear. But in order to revive it the local party leaders raised money for a new equipment by organizing a stock company, selling shares in all parts of the county. Robert S. Sproule was employed as publisher and editor. His first issue, dated July 7, 1862, was numbered Vol. I, No. 1, of another new series. Files are lacking to show how long this arrangement continued; but Elsberry H. Perkins was in control November 18, 1863. Later, Mr. Perkins removed to Indianapolis and for thirty years or more held a responsible position with the *Daily News*.

There seems to have been another suspension, for on August 31, 1865, the paper reappeared with an announcement by Cyrus Crawford, that he had "commenced its republication," which he did by starting off with No. 1, Vol. I, of still another series, the file extending only to the middle of the following December.

The next file accessible shows that John S. Campbell was in possession from November, 1867, to October 27, 1869. He had kept a bookstore in Rushville, afterwards removing to Greensburg, and spent his remaining years there. James Moody & Company succeeded him. Their editor was Finley Bigger, Sr., a son of former Governor Samuel Bigger and a member of the bar at Rushville, who had been Register of the U. S. Treasury under President Buchanan. Another suspension occurred November 17, 1870. A month later the paper started up again under the management of Moody & Conde. In 1871-72, W. S. Conde was publisher. Still another suspension occurred in January, 1873. In May of that year, William E. Wallace, son of Thomas Wallace, an early local publisher, took an interest in partnership with Mr. Conde. This arrangement was of brief duration, for a few week's later (July 24, 1873), the property was bought by George H. Puntenney, attorney, and W. E. Wallace, who, in partnership or separately, owned and successfully managed it for the following thirty-four years. Both were natives of Rush county, and both good newspaper men. Mr. Puntenney was editor of the paper for twenty-seven consecutive years. Puntenney & Wallace established the *Daily Jacksonian* July 25, 1895. William S. Meredith was local editor for seven years from 1900, and Thomas A. Geraghty for a long period. In 1897, Mr. Puntenney bought out his partner and in 1900 Mr. Wallace repurchased the entire property. In 1907, the Democrat Publishing Com-

pany was organized and bought the *Jacksonian*, the *Graphic*, the *Daily Star*, and the *Independent*, and merged them all into one paper under the name of the *Democrat*, published daily and weekly. Will L. Newbold was president of the new company. Melvin Rec-
tor, Robert M. Gibson and Thomas Geraghty were editorial writers at different times. The plan did not succeed. Democrats missed the historic old name of the *Jacksonian*, and the managers found the organization too expensive to keep up. Finally, on the 15th of July, 1909, the paper and plant were sold to Will L. Newbold and George H. Puntenney, Jr., the latter a son of the former editor. These gentlemen restored the old name and the *Daily* and *Weekly Jacksonian* have since appeared under their management. Elgar Higgs has been reporter for a number of years.

This brings the history of the local Democratic press in outline down to the present time.

The Rushville *Times*, an independent weekly paper, was brought out by Lucian W. Norris, April 12, 1870. Its publication cannot be traced beyond the following October.

About March, 1877, George W. Bates and Albert Bunting started the Rushville *Telegraph*, using a plant furnished by Charles W. Stivers. The paper was discontinued after a few months.

The Rushville *Graphic* was established July 1, 1882, by Dr. Samuel W. McMahan and George W. Campbell, attorney. It was a six-column quarto, Republican in politics, published weekly. A prominent feature for some years was a department devoted to the interests of light-harness horse breeders, then of some importance in the county. In 1886, Mr. Campbell sold his interest to John K. Gowdy, and McMahan & Gowdy were owners until 1893; but Butler & Newby, as lessees, published the paper in 1891, and Gowdy & Newby, in 1892 and part of 1893. June 17, 1893, Harry E. Manor, of Alexandria, Indiana, bought the paper and took charge. Of his predecessors, Dr. McMahan purchased an interest in the *Western Horseman*, at Indianapolis, removed to that city, and died there. Mr. Gowdy, who still resides in Rushville, was twice sheriff of Rush county, twice county auditor, served as Republican State Chairman and was consul-general to France, a position to which he was appointed by President McKinley. Mr. Campbell is a practicing attorney at Rushville. The *Graphic* plant was damaged by fire, October 23, 1893, and sold to Samuel J. Finney, who resumed its

publication December 15, 1893, and later made it a semi-weekly. Mr. Finney associated Dr. George B. Jones with him July 10, 1895, and in June, 1896, retired, leaving Dr. Jones as publisher. F. C. and D. D. Hazelrigg, of Greensburg, had the property six months, and Joe M. Taylor, of Indianapolis, for one month, when Mr. Finney came into possession again. January 1, 1901, he sold out to Walter Kaler and T. A. Geraghty. The former retired during the year, leaving Mr. Geraghty as publisher. The latter issued from the same office the *Daily Star*, which he had previously started. From November, 1902, to 1907, the two editions were published by the Star-Graphic Company, when they were bought by the Democrat Publishing Company and merged with the Rushville *Democrat*.

In 1886, E. C. Charles started a four-page weekly paper at Carthage, called the Carthage *Clarion*. Politically it was Republican. A few years later he sold his subscription list to the Rushville *Graphic*, and discontinued the *Clarion*. Later he began the publication of another paper there under the title of the *Carthaginian*. This paper was published for some years afterwards as the Carthage *Record* by William Allan, whose death caused its suspension. Publication was resumed by Chester G. Hill, into whose hands the property came next. The plant was nearly destroyed by fire, and the paper stopped again in consequence. After the lapse of some months he once more revived the paper as the Carthage *Citizen*, with Miss Florence B. Hunt as editor, an arrangement which still continues.

The pioneer paper at Milroy was the *Advertiser*, a four-page non-partisan weekly, founded by Charles H. Pollitt in 1882. He was succeeded by Marcus Fisher and George W. Rowe, in turn. During this period the name was changed to the *Times* and the *News*. Dates are not available. It was finally suspended, and revived as the Milroy *Press* by Harry O. Matthews in 1895. After him, John P. Stech, present city treasurer of Rushville, was publisher from August, 1896. He was succeeded by F. Curtis Green, who was publisher until about 1910, when it was sold to Clyde Archey, the present owner and editor.

George S. Jones, a teacher, published the Manilla *Mail* for some time in the '90s, but the paper was printed in Indianapolis.

The Rushville *American* was established November 22, 1894, as a small four-page weekly by James E. Naden, who has been its only

owner. In 1902 it was enlarged to eight pages and in 1909 was made a semi-weekly. The *American* supported the Republican party until 1912, when it took part with the Progressives.

In 1904, John Rutledge began the publication of the *Rushville Independent*, weekly, and continued it until 1907, when it was bought by the Democrat Publishing Company and discontinued.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A NOTED PIONEER

Written by E. W. H. ELLIS, of Goshen¹

My father, William Robinson Ellis, was the son of Ezekiel Ellis an officer in the Revolution serving under General Washington, and was born in Windham county, Connecticut, April 6, 1784. His middle name he derived from his mother, Elizabeth Robinson, of whose family I know nothing. He was a man of common school education for that period. Studied medicine, I don't know where, with Dr. Winter Hewett, a man of some note in his profession, who died in Batavia, Genesee county, New York. My father practiced his profession awhile in Windsor, Vermont, afterwards at German Flats, Herkimer county and at Penfield, Ontario county, New York. In 1808 he was married to Hannah Brown, daughter of Capt. Isaac Brown, who commanded a company of drafted men in the War of 1812. His residence was in the town of Locke, Cayuga county, New York. During the War of 1812, in addition to the duties of his profession, my father engaged in merchandise in Penfield, some 10 miles from Rochester, New York, then in the county of Ontario, but since known as Monroe county. On the proclamation of peace in 1815, owing to the great downfall in prices, and the dishonesty of his partners, his financial prospects were ruined, and he was forced to close business and sacrifice all his means.

At this place I was born on the 28th day of April, 1815. Another family occupied the upper story of the house, one Erastus Yeomans, to which also came a son on the same date. If I formed any acquaintance with the chap I have long since forgotten him, but in his honor or his fathers, I am christened Erastus. My father's preceptor also had to be remembered and thus was added the two middle names making in all a name that but few have heard in full, or can remember—Erastus Winter Hewett Ellis.

In the year 1820, in company with my uncle, Daniel Ellis, my father determined to try his fortunes in the far west and accordingly embarked in an humble craft, skiff or scow, I can not say what, at

¹ Mr. Ellis died at his home in Goshen October, 10, 1876. He was serving as postmaster of the city at the time of his death.

Ocean Point on the Alleghany river, descended to Pittsburg and thence floated down the Ohio to Cincinnati. I can barely remember this place from the hearing of an organ as we passed one of the churches. We settled at Jacksonburg, a small town in Butler county, Ohio, when my school days began. My first teacher was Peter Muntz who died a few years since in Elkhart county, Indiana, in whose possession I found a school book published by my father entitled *A Minor to Noah Webster's Spelling Book*. I learned rapidly in reading and orthography and at the age of seven was regarded in all that country round as a prodigy in spelling. My father, who was sometimes a teacher himself, took pride in showing me off, and I was the champion in all the spelling matches in the neighborhood. I am a tolerable speller yet, but I have had a good many bad spells since I was a boy.

Owing to his disappointments in business, my father became discontented and restless and although always successful as a practitioner, he never remained long in any one place, but removed from point to point, going as far west as Leavenworth, Indiana, and then step by step back through Bellefontaine, Ohio, to Maumee, thence down the lake in April, 1826, to Buffalo, and thence to Knowlesville, New York, where my mother died on the first of November, 1828. She left surviving her myself, nearly 14 years of age, my brother W. R. Ellis, five years younger, my sister Lucy Ann born in 1822 and my brother Isaac Brown, born in 1824. The latter died in the Union army in 1863 or 1864 near Nashville, Tennessee.

While at Knowlesville I attended one term at Grainer's Academy in the study of Latin, and in the winter and spring of 1829 I taught school in the town of Royalton, Niagara county, New York in two several districts, for five months, and was just at the close of my term when my father who had always designed me for the medical profession, wrote me that he had found a situation for me to study medicine at Brockport, New York. I immediately started for home, walked fifteen miles to Knowlesville and having no money to pay my passage on the canal, I pawned my watch for a small sum and proceeded homewards. About the first of September, 1829, I accompanied my father to Brockport, to the office of Dr. John B. Elliot, a regular physician of considerable repute and success, and was received a few weeks on probation. We afterwards entered into a written obligation, whereby I agreed to remain with him dur-

ing my minority, to attend his drugstore and do whatever else was necessary about the office and house. He was to be my preceptor in medicine, and was to furnish me board and clothing, but I was to repay him when I should be able for the clothing advanced for the first two years. In other words I was to serve the first two years for my board and tuition.

Thus I was duly installed a student of medicine and remained with him for seven years. It was a pleasant family and I remember with affection Mrs. Joanna Elliot, who was to me during all this period of seven years more than a mother. I was regarded and treated more as a son than a stranger, and I owe much to them for my early training. Dr. Elliot and wife were earnest Presbyterians, very devoted and very zealous. I attended church with them almost constantly after the first year or two, and was for years librarian of the sabbath school and a member of the choir. I was an industrious student, always up at five in the morning, and seldom abed till eleven at night. During the day my time was mainly occupied in attendance upon the drug store, compounding medicines, posting books so that my morning and evening hours were necessarily devoted to the books. Besides my regular studies and the care of the store, I found leisure for miscellaneous reading, and at the age of sixteen began to write extensively in prose and verse, but at first anonymously, for the press. I wrote with a prolific pen for various literary papers of that day, but little of it I think survives in anyone's recollection. In the winter of 1833-4 I attended medical lectures at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, and was a portion of the time a roommate of Dr. Daniel Brainard, recently of Chicago. On my return in the spring of 1834, I underwent an examination at Rochester, New York, and received my diploma shortly before my 19th birthday. The censors were pleased to say that I passed the best examination they had ever witnessed. From my early youth I had devoted much attention to politics and became an ardent Jacksonian Democrat. This often annoyed my worthy preceptor, who boasted that he was a Federalist of the old school, and we had many sharp contests on the matter, all however in good humor. In the year 1834 at the solicitation of many Democrats I assumed the editorial control of a paper at Brockport called the *Village Herald*, devoted to the success of the Democratic party, and the election of William L. Marcy as governor of the State. This paper continued

about four months. I also assisted in originating and conducting for one year *The Token* a literary paper, of which about 1,000 copies were issued semi-monthly. It was not much of a paper, but better I think than some I have since seen. I received my first political promotion in 1835 when I was appointed a commissioner of deeds for Monroe county, out of which I accumulated a little over one hundred dollars, this being my entire capital for the commencement of business for myself. I was also elected and commissioned by Governor Marcy a lieutenant in the militia, and won the military honors for a single year. I remained with Dr. Elliot until the first of August, 1836, when I set my face westward in the company of a number of families from Brockport, and arrived at Mishawaka, St. Joseph county, Indiana, about the seventh of the same month intent upon the practice of my profession. In the spring of 1837 my father having removed to South Bend, upon his solicitation I went to that point and engaged in business with him. The next year he removed to Elkhart, Indiana, and I accompanied him arriving in that town on my twenty-third birthday. Our business was extensive by day and by night. Throughout the country every house was a hospital, scarcely a family being unvisited with disease. We were however, very successful in combating the prevailing sickness and I had made up my mind to remain there for the future, when a slight circumstance changed the whole current and tenor of my life.

I had taken part in a Democratic county convention at Goshen, had been appointed a delegate and attended a Congressional convention at Lafayette, January 8, 1839, which nominated Gen. Tilghman A. Howard for Congress, and had thus become known as a Democratic politician. Soon after my return I was visited at Elkhart by the Hon. E. M. Chamberlain of Goshen, who came to solicitate me to take the editorial control of the Goshen *Democrat*, assuring me that it would not interfere with the duties of my profession.² It suited my taste exactly, and I soon acquiesced in the proposition, and about the twentieth of January, 1839, became a resident of Goshen. The proprietors of the *Democrat* office, of whom I now recollect Ebenezer Brown, E. M. Chamberlain, James Cook, John Jackson, Dempster Beatty and Albert Banta, agreed to compensate me with the munificent sum of two hundred dollars per annum and my board. The latter I had at James Cook's, which cost

² The *Democrat* is still one of the leading papers of Indiana.

my employers two dollars per week. I also purchased a share of the office. The office of the paper was on lot 123 on Main street. I soon found it impossible to continue the practice of medicine while I remained in the editorial chair, and the latter having peculiar attractions for me, after the first year I abandoned my profession entirely, although I have never regretted the time I devoted to its study. On the twenty-third of September, 1839, my father died at Elkart and is there buried. He was an honest man, an earnest devoted Christian. He often added to his duties of doctor of medicine, those of a minister of the gospel, and was generally a Methodist, but some times belonged to the United Brethren. I have often heard him in the pulpit, and have been a listener to much worse preaching since his day. At his death he was as poor in purse as any of the apostles. As a gentleman and a scholar, he would have ornamented a more exalted position, but Providence doomed him to a life of poverty, peace to his memory! Thousands of the poor at whose bedsides he had ministered still remember him with affection.

The circulation of the *Democrat* was small, not exceeding 400, while the amount of job printing and advertising was quite limited. I however applied myself to the work with diligence and economy, and finally succeeded in getting it on a paying basis, but it was by no means lucrative. For a long while it was the only Democratic paper north of the Wabash excepting the *Sentinel*³ at Ft. Wayne and the paper circulated throughout this territory. I issued also an extra sheet during a portion of 1840 called the *St. Joseph County Democrat*, designed for circulation in St. Joseph County and the same year published the *Kinderhook Dutchman*, a campaign paper, devoted to the interests of the Democrat party, and the re-election of Martin Van Buren. Of this paper about 1,200 copies were issued, 100 being sent to subscribers at Indianapolis. In August, 1841, I was elected the first auditor of Elkhart county by about 150 votes over C. L. Murray and was re-elected in 1846. The office was a great help to me, although the pay at first was only six hundred dollars per annum. It enabled me to keep the *Democrat* going, and to accumulate a little property. I continued to discharge the duties of editor and auditor, doing all my own work, until, January, 1850,

³ Founded by Thomas Tigar and Vance Noll, June, 1833. The oldest paper of the region was founded at South Bend, 1831.

⁴ Files are still preserved by the Elkhart County Historical Society.

when having been elected by the Legislature, Auditor of the State of Indiana, I resigned both positions.

On the seventeenth day of May, 1842, I was married to Maria Crozier formerly of Chillicothe, Ohio, who was called away on the twenty-first day of April, 1846, leaving two orphan children, Sarah Annette and William R.

On the twenty-seventh day of January, 1848, I was again married to Jeannette Minerva, daughter of Ebenezer Brown. Her death occurred at Indianapolis on the 16th day of June, 1856, leaving one child surviving her, Emma Maria, also two children deceased buried in Goshen and two buried in Indianapolis.

On the seventeenth day of August, 1858, I was married to Rosalie Harris, widow of Leonard G. Harris and daughter of the late Samuel of Elkhart. In these several cases my domestic relations were of the most happy and agreeable nature, and I never cease to thank a kind Providence for the blessings therein vouchsafed me. If I had had no other joys in life this alone would compensate me for all its ills and make me thankful that I have had an existence. In January, 1850, after a tedious journey of a week we reached Indianapolis and I took charge of the auditor's office, in the building known as the Governor's House, on the Governor's Circle, the office I afterwards removed to a room in Masonic Hall. In the summer of 1850, Mr. John S. Spann and myself purchased of Jacob P. Chapman, the contract for the state printing, and the printing materials of the *Indiana State Sentinel*. Our duties under this contract we performed faithfully, printing among other documents, *The Revised Statutes* of 1852. Finding it desirable to have a paper connected with the business we commenced the publication of the *Indiana Statesman*, a weekly paper, which soon attained a circulation of over 2,000, which was continued two years, and of which I was editor. In the course of the publication I found myself at variance with the leaders of the Democratic party on the slavery question, adhering as I did, to the position of the party throughout the North, in the campaign of 1848, against the extension of slavery into the new territories. Owing to this position I was defeated for the re-nomination for auditor in 1852 by John P. Dunn, Esq., and retired in January, 1853, at the expiration of my three years' service. I took my final leave of the party in 1855 at the Democratic State Convention, when it was proposed to make the Border Ruffian policy

of the administration a test of party fealty. Within this period I was elected by the Legislature a commissioner of the Institute for the Education of the Blind, and was chosen secretary of the board, the Honorable Isaac Blackford being president of the same. This position I held about five years. I was also chosen a director and president of the Peru and Indianapolis Railroad Company. The work was then constructed from Indianapolis to Noblesville, a distance of twenty-two miles and ironed with a flat bar. I remained as president two years until the work was completed and in operation from Indianapolis to Peru. A consolidation was then made with the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad Company whereby Hon. John Brough, afterwards Governor of Ohio, became the president of the entire line from Madison to Peru. In a few weeks Mr. Brough resigned this position and I was elected to fill his place. The consolidation was afterwards dissolved, and I remained president of the Madison & Indianapolis road for the term of two and one-half years, and then resigned and returned to Goshen. I was one of the directors of the Indiana and Illinois Central Railway and of two or three other lines in their incipency. I was induced to invest \$11,000 in a mercantile business in Goshen. The concern failed and I was compelled to sacrifice almost every dollar of my property, amounting to not less than \$40,000 to pay the indebtedness of the firm. In 1856 I was nominated on the first Republican State ticket as a candidate for Auditor of State. Oliver P. Morton was the candidate for Governor and Conrad Baker for lieutenant-governor. During the season I edited and published a campaign paper entitled *We the People* having a circulation of 7,000 copies weekly. The ticket was defeated by between 5,000 and 6,000 votes. Once more back in Goshen, poor and penniless, I purchased with C. W. Stephens the office of the *Elkhart County Times*, changing the name of the paper to the *Goshen Times*; for more than two years I was its editor, when for a very small consideration I parted with my interest to Mr. Stephens and thus closed my connections with the press. In 1858 I was elected again as auditor of Elkhart county and re-elected in 1862 making my entire service in that capacity the term of sixteen years. I was present at the National Convention in 1860 when Abraham Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency and rendered my utmost aid to secure his election, an event which precipitated the Rebellion. A Peace Congress having

been proposed by Virginia, I was appointed by Governor O. P. Morton, a delegate for Indiana, in conjunction with Caleb B. Smith, P. A. Hackleman, Godlove S. Orth, and L. C. Slaughter. The two former are now deceased. My roommate at the Avenue House was Mr. Smith, afterwards Secretary of the Interior. Our congress met in a hall adjoining Willard Hotel, in Washington, was presided over by Ex-President John Tyler, and for a month was the scene of most earnest and angry discussion. The principal good anticipated for it on the part of the North, and all that it accomplished, was to postpone the commencement of hostilities until after the inauguration of President Lincoln. About the first of March that gentleman came in disguise and at the peril of his life in Baltimore to Washington.

During this period, with others, I had several interviews with General Scott, then in command in the city, who expressed his belief that the Rebellion was inevitable, and that the South would fight. He had but about 1,000 troops in the city, and those men dispersed in such a manner as to show to the best advantage, particularly on the twenty-second of February, Washington's birthday, when they paraded the streets in every direction, giving to spectators the idea of the presence of an immense body of troops. I remained in Washington until after the inauguration of President Lincoln and with other Indianaians called upon him and upon the retiring President, James Buchanan. Not the least interesting incident of this brief sojourn in Washington, was the great party at the residence of Stephen A. Douglas which was attended by most of our members. For this service in the Peace Congress the Legislature allowed us each the sum of four hundred dollars.

The Rebellion came on apace, the President called for 75,000 three months men, and throughout the War, and to its close, I devoted time and money, without stint, to the raising of troops, the care of soldiers' families, and the Sanitary Commission. My office was headquarters for everything connected with the War. Backed by friends in Goshen, I repaired to Indianapolis and urged upon Governor Morton the propriety of raising a regiment for three years service with headquarters in Goshen.

(April 9, 1873, I had written to this point, when Col. R. M. Johnston entered my office and announced the receipt of a telegram from Jackson, Michigan, stating Col. E. J. Wood had committed

suicide in the Hibbard House with a revolver. At request of the Masonic Lodge, I repaired to Jackson and brought the remains to Goshen, to his family. Colonel Wood was a graduate of Dartmouth College, the second colonel of the Forty-eighth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, and had been for two years judge of the Common Pleas court. He was en route to Saginaw, when in a fit of mental aberration, he committed this act of self-destruction.)

Governor Morton received the application with favor, and in a few days after directed the organization of the Forty-eighth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, and telegraphed to me an appointment as commandant of the camp, to raise the regiment. I proceeded immediately to work, and in a few days had made such progress that all the companies required had commenced their organization. The regiment was located two miles south of Goshen, on the new fair grounds, and subsequently by order of the regiment the place was designated as Camp Ellis. Declining the honor of the colonelcy I procured the appointment of Norman Eddy as colonel, M. B. Hascall as lieutenant colonel and Ruggs as major captain. My son, William R., entered as a private in Company I. E. J. Wood, captain, was appointed as sergeant, afterwards sergeant major of the regiment, and when he was mustered out of service at Savannah, after accompanying General Sherman on his march from Atlanta to the sea, he held the position of first lieutenant. For my services in connection with this organization I was allowed the sum of \$700.

When it became necessary to order a draft for recruits for the service the Governor appointed me as the enrolling officer for the county, and superintendent of the draft. I accordingly appointed deputies in each township, had the enrollment made and corrected, superintended the draft and took to Indianapolis 128 drafted men, many of them with their substitutes, most of whom became members of the Fifty-seventh Regiment Indiana Volunteers. Subsequently I was appointed deputy marshal of the county, and as such superintended further drafts at Kendallville, arrested fugitives, etc., filling this position for about one year, until near the close of the War, when the office was abolished. It is a gratification to me at this hour to feel that throughout the great struggle I rendered every aid in my power for the overthrow of the inhuman Rebellion, and to secure the crowning results of the victory. About the close of the war the Legislature elected me one of the State directors of

the Bank of the State of Indiana, the duties of which I discharged for one year, until the winding up of the institution. I was also appointed by Governor Baker as one of a board of commissioners to examine into some of the irregular transactions of the Sinking Fund Commission. In 1866 my last term as Auditor of Elkhart county terminated, making 16 years of service in that capacity. A longer period I presume than the office will be filled again by one individual. The last few years I have devoted to my private affairs, which I confess are in rather an unprosperous condition, but I hope some day to see the time when I can obey the Apostle's injunction "to owe no man." And it will be a source of gratification and of gratitude deep and profound, even should it leave me, as most likely it will without the possession of a dollar. I have striven to be honest with my fellow men and hope I have succeeded. I have endeavored to maintain a good reputation in the community, and have had many evidences of their esteem and confidence. For a few years I strove earnestly to secure the construction of a railroad from Goshen south *via* Warsaw to Peru, and was the president of an organization formed for that purpose. It however failed, and the line was changed to Wabash, and for the last two years I have been its secretary. Ever since its organization I have been a director and secretary of the Hydraulic Canal Company, and for most of the time its treasurer. I contributed also towards its construction the sum of 500 dollars. In 1872 I was the secretary of the Republican State convention at Indianapolis and was selected and elected as presidential elector for the Tenth District, and in the electoral college cast the vote of the district for Ulysses S. Grant for President and for Henry Wilson for Vice President.

The only official position I hold now is that of Trustee of the State Normal School located at Terre Haute, to which I was nominated by Governor Baker in the winter of 1872-3 and confirmed by the Senate.

These memoranda will not be complete without a statement of my connection with the Masonic institution. My father was a Mark Master Mason, and I grew up in the midst of the Anti-Masonic excitement of 1827-8 and the year succeeding. My sympathies were early enlisted for the order. I felt that it was persecuted unjustly, that it was slandered and maligned, and it needed no solicitation to induce me to apply for initiation to the lodge under

dispensation which met in the southwest corner of the old courthouse in 1846. Afterwards I became one of the charter members of Goshen Lodge No. 12, and was for several years its master. I also aided in the organization of Goshen Chapter No. 45 and have been for several years its High Priest, and am also the Thrice Illustrious Grand Master of Bashor Council of Royal and Select Masters. I have been Grand King and Grand High Priest of the Grand Chapter of the State. And on the introduction of the Scottish Rite in the State I received all the degrees up to, and including the thirty-third and was chosen the Grand Commander of the order in the State. Of Masonic songs, addresses, sketches and essays my labors have not been few; I hope their tendency has been to make men better and not worse.

Interspersed along the course of my life have been addresses, orations, speeches, sketches and essays innumerable. Not many remember them now—how few will do so after the lapse of a few brief years!

Looking back over the fifty-eight years of my existence, blessed with a temperament that enabled me always to look on the bright side and always hope for the best, I feel that I have enjoyed as much of earthly happiness as falls to the lot of man on the average. Many days of sadness and sorrow, of disappointments and loss have been mine, but I have striven to bear them with fortitude, and even with cheerfulness.

While I feel that I have not accomplished what I should have done, I have not been idle. My life has been at least a busy one, and as opportunity offered I trust a useful one. Certain it is that I have not put myself offensively forward for any of the public positions I have held, nor done a dishonest or dishonorable thing to secure them.

I have written this narrative for the entertainment of my children, and close it on my fifty-eighth birthday, this 29th day of April, 1873.

THE TOWN OF BETHLEHEM, CLARK COUNTY, INDIANA

By MRS. ELINOR H. CAMPBELL, Jeffersonville, Indiana

On record in the courthouse of this county appears the following:

W. C. Greenup, surveyor of town of Bethlehem, Clark county, Indiana Territory. William Plasket this day personally appeared before me, James McCampbell, one of the justices assigned to keep the peace and made oath that this is the original plat or map of the Town of Bethlehem in the county and territory aforesaid.

Given under my hand and seal this 15th day of June, 1812.

JAMES MCCAMPBELL, J.P.C.C.

At that time we know the ground on which this town stands was owned by Jonathan Clark, Col. John Armstrong, William Plasket, and others. As Col. Armstrong was born in the town of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, this town was probably named in honor of his birthplace.

The plat shows that the streets running parallel with the river were called Front, Second, and Third, while those at right angles with these were Poplar, Walnut, Main, Bell and Sycamore, embracing sixteen full squares and a half square beyond the two on the east side of Bell street, with the half square between Walnut and Main on Second street reserved for public ground.

In the country round about were then living the following families, whose names appear in county commissioners' reports in connection with opening of roads, etc.

The name of Abbott is seen on record in 1779. The heirs of John Rodgers are mentioned in 1806. Philip Boyer from near Lexington, Kentucky, William Kelly, born in Virginia, later of Kentucky, came to this county in 1806. William Hamilton, with his mother and two sisters, came in 1812. Jacob Hiltner, born in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, emigrated to Kentucky and then to Clark county, Indiana, several years before the birth of his son George in 1818. Near New Washington were the Adams, Dougan, Provine, Fouts, Montgomery and other families.

Of William Provine it is recorded that because his mill was the only one on this side of the river he was twice returned from service during the War of 1812.

One of the first purchasers of a lot in the town was Bayley Johnson, who for a lot centrally located paid ten dollars. Persons named Olmstead, Belden, Sturdivant, Maston, Stephenson, Barnes, Rae, Gardner, Smock, Cravens, Robinson and Goforth were owners of lots in the early years, while William Plasket and William G. Armstrong seemed to have been the leading business men of the town. The two latter operated the ferry, being taxed six dollars for the privilege in 1816. These men were also partners in general merchandise business, occupying the large corner room of the two-story building which Mr. Armstrong erected on the corner of Front and Bell streets. In connection with the store room was his dwelling, and a continuous row of two-story buildings extended from the corner building to the alley below. These buildings were destroyed by fire early in '59.

Mr. Plasket put up the large two-story brick house on the other front corner of the same block. We find record of Henry Fix purchasing in the town in the year 1820, P. R. Baldwin in 1840. Mr. Emanuel Pernet purchased in 1848 the corner property from William G. Armstrong, while Thomas Wallace the following year purchased from Mr. Armstrong the farm above the creek.

Associated with every name here mentioned (save a very few of the first comers) are personal memories very dear and tender, the Plaskets and Armstrongs being relatives of my father and others acquaintances of my youth. When the "War" commenced our good people had an immense flag flung to the breeze from a sixty-foot pole, the ceremony made most impressive by the reading of the constitution, speeches, and music, and on this day in June, 1861, the greatest crowd of people ever seen in Bethlehem gathered on the public ground. Our young men went to battle for the "Union"—many never to return—and at home all felt the effects of the War in one way or another.

Uncle Tommy Rogers could get no help in planting corn and was glad to accept the proffered service of two little girls, who for two days trudged between the furrows dropping the grains in each proper place. When the eighteen-inch snow covered the ground in the winter of '62 the physician from New Washington was sent for

and the little child born that night was soon left motherless, while the father was in the army.

The excitement attending the Morgan Raid can never be forgotten by all who lived here in July, 1863. The fright was just as great as had the intelligence been true that Morgan's men were coming on the road from New Washington, but luckily it was a company of Home Guards instead. At that time mail was received but three times in the week and daily papers were thrown from the passing mail boat, being picked up by some one in a skiff and then from the corner stone read aloud to the interested listeners who were eager to hear the War news.

On a sad day in April, 1865, as the boat was landing to take on passengers my father asked why the flag was at half mast and the reply was "for the President." Stunned by the answer, we though not to say "good bye" to some departing relatives but sadly picked up the paper that was thrown down. The day was dark and gloomy and our hearts were filled with sorrow because of the fearful news.

In retrospect let us try to imagine something of the days as they were one hundred years ago. The river flowed by this high bank then as now but only keelboats, barges and pirogues plied the waters. Forests covered most of the ground and wolves prowled through them still. The county was paying a bounty of \$1.00 for each wolf head. It was not until 1815 that any systematic method of opening roads was inaugurated and of course there were no bridges.

The housekeeping was such as we imagine existed in all primitive homes, but when in 1815 Mr. Armstrong brought his bride from Cincinnati he must have also brought many of the conveniences and comforts to which she was accustomed. In 1819 a trip to Cincinnati was made—Mrs. Armstrong carrying her baby on her lap as she rode horseback.

It is well for us to look back at our beginnings and, in so recalling the days and ways of our ancestors, pay homage to their memory and resolve to make of our lives the best record possible.

THE FOUNDING OF THE STATE SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND—A BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM H. CHURCHMAN

BY GEORGE S. COTTMAN, Irvington, Indiana

If one interested in the notable men of Indiana should seek for information about William H. Churchman he would not find even the briefest biographical mention of him in any of the big gilt-edged books that pretend to save from oblivion the representative men of the State. Yet this man, an active citizen of the State for more than thirty-five years, in ability and in performance outranked many a one whose name is blazoned conspicuously on the pages of our history. William H. Churchman has never received the recognition and the honor that was due him, for the reason, perhaps, that his services were not of a kind to keep him in the public eye and he did not see fit to pay some publisher of commercial "history" for a laudatory write-up with the customary picture accompaniment.

An educator in a special field Mr. Churchman was to the blind of this State what Samuel Gridley Howe, "the Cadmus of the blind," or the famous educator of Laura Bridgeman was to the darkened ones of Massachusetts. He was, virtually, the founder of the work that has been done for this class in Indiana. For though such work was one of the predestined duties of a progressive commonwealth regardless of any one man, yet the intrusion of this man into our history at the formative moment gave a distinctive character to the early development. How this was can best be shown by a brief sketch of his earlier life. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1818, he lost his sight entirely during youth, and this determined the character of his life-work. He was one of the first pupils in the Pennsylvania Institute for the Blind, a pioneer school of the kind, and by the time he reached his majority he had taken up teaching of the blind as a profession. From that time until the close of a long life the rendering of service to those that sit in darkness was with him a pursuit and a passion. Between 1839 and 1848 he taught in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee and Kentucky. His first connection with this State was a matter of chance. In the spring

of 1844 James M. Ray, of Indianapolis, while attending the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church at Louisville, witnessed, by invitation, an exhibition of blind pupils from the Kentucky institution, under Mr. Church. Mr. Ray, who is honored in our history as a leader in all good works, was at once interested in behalf of the blind of his own State, and through his invitation Mr. Churchman during the next session of the Indiana Legislature, brought some of his pupils to Indianapolis to demonstrate what education had done for them. The Legislature was enough impressed to levy a tax of two mills on each hundred dollars' worth of taxable property to be applied in placing the blind children of the State in other institutions until a school should be established here. It should be added that the United States census reports did not show many blind children to exist in the State, and taking this as a basis the case did not seem to call for a very liberal provision.

At the session of 1845-6 James M. Ray and George W. Mears, in connection with the secretary, auditor and treasurer of State, were appointed to administer the funds, which, in the collection, proved to be enough to place twenty pupils in the nearest existing institutions at a cost of \$100 per year each.

A word as to the status of the blind at that period. They were wholly dependent—"a neglected, unhappy class," without hope of taking any part in the world's work, and with no prospect of being other than the veriest paupers if thrown upon their own resources. No other defective was quite so unfortunate. There were many things the deaf-mute could do, the victim of insanity, presumably, was at least less sensible of his misfortune; but the blind, unless specially trained, were pitifully helpless and were acutely sensitive to it. The champions of their cause saw for them possibilities of usefulness, independence and happiness, and with this incentive for zeal the trustees proceeded to carry out their benevolent duties, never doubting the eager co-operation of the beneficiaries, the only trouble they anticipated being in the selection of the fortunate twenty from the many applicants. Their first experimental step was interesting and educative. Through newspapers and by circular they advertised broadcast the "benevolent objects of the Legislature," and lo! as a result there were just five applicants. The trustees were "exceedingly disappointed," and on looking more closely into the matter learned that their experience was but a repetition

of what had occurred in other States, and that, as they concluded, "the affections of the mothers of the helpless blind required stronger assurances than your trustees could make in publication." before committing their tender charges into the hands of strangers. It is not the only instance on record when philanthropic zeal failed to reckon correctly with the human nature it had to deal with. In a word, not only the State Legislature and the public generally, but the proposed recipients of the benefaction had to be educated. In this dilemma the perplexed trustees turned to William Churchman as one who knew and could advise. He proffered his services, presented his plan, and with a horse, wagon and driver was put into the field to seek out and visit personally homes having blind inmates, and to create in such families ambition and confidence. Equipped with a specimen book printed in raised letters, and some samples of handcraft made by blind pupils of the Ohio institution, he traveled about 1,520 miles through thirty-six Indiana counties. This was in the early fall of 1846. The result was that the twenty pupils the State could then care for were found and placed, eleven at the Ohio institution and nine in Kentucky. Moreover twenty-eight others of eligible age were found, and the canvasser established the gross inaccuracy of the Federal census enumeration as regarded this class.

In 1847 the Indiana school for the blind was established with George W. Mears, Seton W. Norris and James M. Ray as trustees; W. H. Churchman as acting principal, at a salary of \$800 per year; L. S. Newell, teacher of music; Caleb Scudder, steward and master of handicraft; Samuel McGibben, assistant mechanic; Mrs. Margaret Demoss, matron and mistress of handicraft, and Miss Sarah Marsh, assistant. Mr. Churchman was made "acting" principal because, with all the confidence in him, there existed no precedent for fully installing a blind man in so responsible a position, and it was not until 1851 that the trustees so far overcame their conservatism as to appoint him superintendent in full. One of his first duties in his new capacity was to visit all the leading institutions for the blind in the country to inform himself of the latest improvements in methods of instruction and of administration, and also to select in person books and apparatus.

The beginning of the institution was on an humble scale in a rented building so scant in its accommodations that the trustees had

to put up a cheap additional structure for a workshop. The full list of the books for the blind at that time did not exceed thirty and the entire equipment of books and apparatus cost but a little over one hundred dollars. The total expense for the year was a little in excess of \$6,000. The term began with nine pupils only, but increased to thirty and established a record among the institutions of the country for the first year's attendance. Another promise for bigger things that year was the purchase for \$5,000 of the eight acres between Meridian and Pennsylvania streets still used, and which was then described as "adjoining Indianapolis on the north."

Mr. Churchman's first connection with the institution lasted until October of 1853, up to which period he did pioneer work in establishing a standard of excellence second to none. He advertised the aims and the efficiency of the institution throughout the State by several educational campaigns with his more advanced pupils through various sections, and, what was of vast importance from the viewpoint of efficiency and progress, he sought to keep before the public and the powers that were the peculiar problems of the work, particularly the industrial problems, as only an expert could do. He pointed out the fact that after the blind have been educated they still are not in a normal relation to the world or on an equal footing with those who see when it comes to taking actual part in the struggle for existence. He also paid much attention to the causes of blindness and published the statistics, forerunning in that direction the recent work of Dr. Hurty who, through the State Board of Health, has been ardently endeavoring to reduce blindness by showing where it is preventable.

Mr. Churchman may almost be spoken of as the father of the large building for the blind still standing. In its materialization much was left to him. After a thorough study of institutional buildings elsewhere he elaborated and personally supervised plans that were drawn for him by a local draftsman, John Elder. Subsequently the services of Francis Costigan of Madison, perhaps the best-known architect in the State, were secured, but Mr. Churchman kept track of every detail of construction, and tradition survives of his detecting mortar, imperfectly mixed, that was going into the walls, and of unsatisfactory bracings in the woodwork which he located as he traversed the rooms and halls tapping with his cane, and caused to be torn out and remedied. When completed

this building was considered one of the best and most modern structures of its kind in the country, and as nearly fireproof as the art of building had then attained to. Its cost was about \$68,000.

Just as this building was completed and the zealous superintendent with a fine equipment in hand, was ready to push and expand his work, "politics," it seems, decided that an \$800 position ought to be connected up with some one more valuable to the reigning powers. At any rate an old and vicious custom prevailed and for a party reasons a faithful public servant especially fitted for his important work, was summarily ousted and replaced by a series of incumbents who, no matter what their natural capacities, were so unadapted to the business in hand that the confession of ignorance by at least two of them was positively naive. Of course the institution continued to exist—even to grow, but one who carefully examines the reports of Mr. Churchman and his successors will find a fundamental difference which is the difference between an expert at his life's work and a novice at a temporary job. At various times we have rumors of defection within, criticism from without, and even of improper liberties taken by the superintendent with girl pupils. All that is scandal of the past, but it points its moral.

In 1861 Mr. Churchman was recalled to the superintendency of the blind and retained that position without interruption for eighteen years. The reiterated appreciation and praise voiced during that period by the various trustees with whom he worked was something more than perfunctory courtesy. One of the trustees's reports affirms that "to his zeal and ability and devotion to this work we are indebted for its superior condition and efficiency, ranking, as it does, as one of the first if not the best school for the education of the blind in the United States," and it further states that "his plans and ideas have been studied, copied and made the model for other and older States," while "his administration has been not only appreciated at home but recognized abroad." In 1866 the trustees of the New York State institution chose and elected him as the head of their establishment, offering him as an inducement a salary nearly double that which he received here, but at the earnest solicitation of our trustees he declined the flattering offer that had been thrust upon him and remained here. It was by his initiative that a convention of the educators of the blind, the second of its kind, perhaps, in the world, was held in Indianapolis in 1871. He was made chair-

man of its meetings, which were well attended from all over the country, and at the close a permanent association of "American Instructors of the Blind" was formed, with Mr. Churchman as one of the vice-presidents.

Mr. Churchman illustrated within himself to a remarkable degree the possibilities of the blind. Mentally he was no ordinary man. As a scholar his knowledge was extraordinary. As a thinker he was vigorous, searching and subtle, and the ease and clearness with which he could expound a profound and far-reaching subject was a matter for wonder to those less gifted. In his report of 1866 a long disquisition on the blind viewed largely from the angle of philosophy and psychology shows admirably the wide range of his mind, and from long training in dictation he expressed himself verbally with the same facility, as his friends well remember. Even more remarkable were his powers of minute observation and his mastery of facts and details. A little story is apropos here. The present writer's father, a merchant tailor in Indianapolis during the fifties, first met Mr. Churchman when he came into his store one day and requested to "see" some fabric for a suit of clothes. The skeptical tailor, with a touch of facetiousness, threw out a number of bolts on his counter, the two at the opposite ends being identical. The customer went along the line carefully feeling each piece of cloth till he came to the end, when he turned up his face attentively. Then he went back to the first bolt and fingered it once more. "Why," he said, "these two are just the same."

Mr. Churchman left the institution in 1879, and the last three years of his life were spent with his half brother, F. M. Churchman, whose home was six miles southeast of the city, and there he died very suddenly on May 17, 1882. His funeral services were held in the chapel of the institution with which he was so intimately identified, and the chief speaker was the Rev. Oscar C. McCulloch, than whom no one was better fitted to pay sympathetic respect to a strong and useful man.

SOME MEMOIRS OF THE POLKE, PIETY, McCOY, McQUAID, AND MATHES FAMILIES

By the late JAMES POLKE, of Knox County, Indiana

The reminiscences which follow were written about 1886 by Elder James Polke, who was a nephew of Judge William Polke, whose account of his captivity by the Miami Indians was published in the June number of this magazine. James Polke was born in Shelby county, Kentucky, 1804. Two years later he came with his father to Knox county and there spent almost his whole life. He was a prominent citizen of the Maria Creek settlement, helped organize the present Maria Creek Baptist church in 1833, and was well acquainted with the people of that historic neighborhood. He was a witness of and a participant in that long struggle in the Baptist church which hindered its progress for a quarter of a century. The struggle arose over the origin of evil and resulted in the formation of the two factions known as the "one seed" and the "two seed" Baptists. This struggle had hardly reached its height when another of greater virulence arose over the question of sending out missionaries. The old or "one seed" school regarded missions as sacrilegious, as the attempt of men to interfere with the work of God. Another large faction of the church followed Alexander Campbell and formed the Christian church. Elder Isaac McCoy, an uncle of James Polke and a brother-in-law of Judge William Polke, was a leader in the missionary work among the Indians. His papers, which were deposited by his son in the Kansas State Historical Society, and those of William Polke, if they have been preserved, will throw a great deal of light on the history of the Indians in Indiana. These pioneers objected to the treatment the Indians were receiving at the hands of the traders and tried to inaugurate a plan whereby the Indians might be educated, Christianized and thus transformed into citizens. A half century after their labors ceased the government, under the Dawes Act, put their plan into successful operation, and has thereby saved a few of the red men from destruction.

It will be noticed that the southern members of the Polk family

TABLE I
Robert Bruce Polk = Margaret Tasker

John	William	Ephraim	James	Robert	David	Joseph	Martha	Anne
William (M. Margaret Taylor of Carlisle, Pa.	Charles (Indian trader on the Potomac)	Elizabeth	James	David	Jane			
William	Charles	Debora	Susan	Margaret	John	Thomas (General in the Revolution)	Ezekiel	
						William (Colonel in Revolution)	Samuel	
						James K. (President of U. S.)		
						Leonidas (Bishop and General in Civil War)		

write their names "Polk," while most of those who came to Kentucky and Indiana add a final "e." The original name is "Pollock." Such variations in spelling family names were not uncommon in pioneer days.

These memoirs were written by Mr. Polk at various times, the last part having been written July 15, 1886, immediately before his death. There is some duplication in the story, but so little that it has been thought best to print it almost entire. The writer, however, gives two accounts of his trip to Fort Wayne in 1821 and these have been combined by the editor into a single continuous narrative.

The genealogy of the Polk family offers a great many difficulties, chiefly on account of the great number of its members and their wide dispersion. The founder of the family in America was Robert Bruce Polk and Magdalene Tasker Polke, who came to America from Ireland and settled in Maryland in 1672. They had nine children, as shown in table I below. The second son, William, had a large family and from two of his sons, William and Charles, are descended the members of the family spoken of in these memoirs. The latter son was an Indian trader on the upper Potomac. The former moved west to the frontier then at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Here he married Margaret Taylor. He intended to go west to the Ohio, but the Indians were in an ugly mood and he turned south, going to the back country of North Carolina. This was in 1750. He and his sons took a prominent part in the Revolution. A son, Colonel Thomas Polk, married a sister of General Evan Shelby, the hero of King's Mountain. President James K. Polk was a grandson of Ezekiel Polk, a son of the pioneer named above and a signer of the Mecklinburg Declaration. Table I shows this branch of the family. The family includes a large number of prominent men both in State and National affairs.

Charles Polk, the Indian trader mentioned above, was the second son of William, the second son of Robert Bruce Polk. Charles had a store at the north bend of the Potomac river in Frederick county, Maryland. He is mentioned in Christopher Gist's Journal and also in the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania. He had six children, all of whom came west as narrated by James Polk in the memoirs. Table II below shows his descendants.

Charles Polke, 2d, was the fifth son of the Indian trader. He

reached Kentucky about 1780. Judge William Polke, a member of the Indiana Constitutional convention of 1816, was his eldest son. Judge Polke was Indian agent at Fort Wayne for many years. His oldest sister married Captain Spier Spencer, of Harrison county, who was killed at Tippecanoe. His second sister, Sarah, married William Bruce, founder of Bruceville, and a personal friend of Lincoln. His third sister, Nancy, married Peter Ruby, and their descendants live in several parts of Indiana. The fourth sister, Christiana, married Rev. Isaac McCoy and spent most of her life with her husband as a missionary among the Indians. Dr. Thomas Polk, a younger brother, went to Texas in 1820 and took an honorable part in the Texan war of liberation. Charles, 3d, another brother, took part in the campaign of Tippecanoe with nearly all the men of the family, and later settled down in Knox county, where his descendants are still living.

Table III below shows the relationships of the Perry county Polkes, most of whom are the descendants of the Rev. Charles Polke, who sat for Perry county in the Constitutional convention of 1816. The Guthries, Ballards and Thrustons, of Louisville, are related to this branch. The Polke family of Greenwood, Indiana, are descended from James Polk, seventh son of Edmond Polk, who came to Kentucky in 1780.¹

CHARLES POLK, "THE INDIAN TRADER"

"There lived on the headwaters of the Potomac and the Alleghany rivers in the fore part of the seventeenth century a large family connection by the name 'Polk,' of Scotch and Irish descent. During the colonial period and the Revolutionary War they emigrated to the South and Southwest, a part remaining loyal to the crown of England and a part joining in the revolution against England. But the object of these sketches is to detail more immediately the life of Captain Charles Polke, Sr., and his family connections, four in number, to-wit: Charles, Edmond, Thomas and Sally, who emigrated to Kentucky about the year 1780 with their families."¹

¹ *Polk Family and Kinsman*, by William Harrison Polk of Lexington, Ky., is the source of much of the above data.

¹ There were six in the family, but only four are known to have come to Kentucky.

CHARLES POLKE, SR.²

"Charles Polke was born about the year 1744, and when thirty years old (1774), was married to Delilah Tyler, of Virginia. Edmond died at the age of eighty-seven years; Sally Polke Piety at the age of ninety-eight; Thomas died about the age of sixty. Charles Polke, Sr., died in Knox county, Indiana, in the year 1823, at the age of seventy-nine. Their numerous descendants are now scattered over the West and Southwest, to California and Oregon and the territories.

"Charles Polke, as related above, removed to Kentucky and settled in Nelson county, Kentucky, about seven miles from Bardstown. The Indian tribes were hostile, and the early settlers were compelled to erect and live in stockade forts for their protection and safety.

"In the year 1782, in the month of August, a band of Indians crossed over the Ohio river near the mouth of the Kentucky, about fifty or sixty miles from Bardstown, and surprised or set fire to the fort in which Charles Polke, Sr., and family lived; and in the darkness of the night it was burned down and all the inmates were killed or made prisoners by the Indians.

"The celebrated Indian fighter and hunter, Bland Ballard, while out hunting some twenty miles from this fort, discovered a band of Indian warriors on the day previous to its being burned. These Indians were making towards the station near Louisville or Bardstown. Bland Ballard hastened to the station to give them warning of their danger, and an effective force under Captain Charles Polke, Sr., sallied forth to surprise the Indians, as it was not known what station they intended to attack; but they failed to discover them. It was afterward ascertained that the Indians were in ambush near the fort when Bland Ballard arrived the evening before, and in the early morning the fort was burned down.

"Mrs. Delilah Polke and four children were taken prisoners, to-wit: William, seven years of age, and three younger sisters, Elizabeth (Polke) Spencer, Sally (Polke) Bruce and Nancy (Polke) Ruby. The Indians departed from the burnt fort in haste to get back to their comrades over the Ohio river, which they reached on

² For a further account of Charles Polke and the capture and captivity of his family, see the June issue of this magazine, pp. 96-109.

the third day after the burning of the station (known afterward as the 'burnt station'), with the prisoners whom they did not kill. They crossed over in the canoes which were concealed on the Kentucky side, being now out of danger of pursuit. Here were encamped a large band of Indians with their horses and plenty of provisions gathered in store by their hunters on their arrival; and from here near the mouth of the Kentucky river they traveled slowly to the Maumee near Fort Wayne, and thence down the Auglaize to Lake Erie, and thence to Detroit, Michigan, which at that day was held by a British garrison. Mrs. Polke and a part of the children were taken to the fort and there remained. And here in this British garrison my father, Charles Polke, Jr., was born on the 20th of October, 1782, about two months after the capture of his mother and her children near Bardstown, Kentucky, distant some four hundred miles.

"My grandfather spent his time in traveling and trying to find out the fate and fortune of his wife and children; and I have heard him tell of coming out to "Old Post" Vincennes in 1783, and here at this Old Trading Post he got word through Indians or Indian traders of the safety of his wife and children at Detroit, about eleven months after their capture by the Indians.

"He immediately set out for Detroit, arriving there about one year after their capture. He had the good fortune and the joy of again meeting and greeting his wife and the captured children, and in addition, the little stranger Charlie about ten months old. After remaining at Detroit for a time, it being the close of the Revolutionary war, the British officer in command, General de Peyster, gave him every assistance for their safe return, and secured the services of Simon Girty to pilot them through the wilderness of Ohio to the Pan Handle, near Wellsburgh, Virginia. After a short stay in the region of country from whence he had emigrated some three years previous to the wilds of Kentucky, he came back to Kentucky down the Ohio river again, poor as a church mouse, everything having been destroyed by the burning of the station in Kentucky.³

"There were born eleven children, five sons and six daughters, to-wit: Sons, William, Charles, Edward, Thomas and Robert:

³This story is given in the June number of this magazine as written by Judge William Polke, who was one of the captives.

daughters, Elizabeth, Sally, Nancy, Christiana, Eleanor and Polly. Mrs. Delilah Polke died in Nelson county, Kentucky, about 1798, about forty years of age.

"Charles Polke, Sr., remained in Kentucky about ten years after the death of his wife, and then came to Indiana Territory with his eldest son William, in the year 1808, and settled fifteen miles north of the Old Post Vincennes, Knox county, Indiana, and died there in 1823, aged seventy-nine years. My father, Charles Polke, Jr., died in August, 1845, aged sixty-three years. My mother survived him ten years, and died June 19, 1855, aged seventy.

"Charles Polke, Jr., was in the battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811, serving as an officer in the Indiana militia. He was one of the guard at the conference between Governor Harrison and Tecumseh in 1810. He was a justice of the peace for many years, and also county commissioner. He was one of the associate judges for a time, and when he died resolutions of condolence were passed by the Circuit Court of Knox county."

THOMAS PIETY

"In the latter end of the eighteenth century, and during the time of the English and French wars in Europe and America, at the treaty of Paris, 1763, the French government ceded to England "New France" and other American possessions east of the Mississippi river.

"Austin Piety, an English officer, was stationed at 'Fort Pitt,' at the headwaters of the Ohio river, now 'Pittsburg,' Pennsylvania. He was united in marriage to Sarah Polk about the year 1769. He, with his command, was ordered to Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi River in 1770 by the British authorities. He descended the Ohio river with his wife and troops under his command, as far as the Falls of the Ohio river, and there made a short stay in order to lay in a supply of buffalo and other meat; from thence down the river to its mouth (now Cairo, Illinois), and from thence up to their destination, 'the American Bottom,' on the east side of the Mississippi, opposite St. Louis. During their stay the subject of this sketch, to-wit Thomas Piety, Sr., was born in 1770. Austin Piety returned to Fort Pitt with his command, and during the Revolutionary War returned to England, and from thence never

returned, leaving his wife, Sarah Piety, and four children in America.

"Sarah Piety, the mother of these four children (Thomas, who was the oldest, and three sisters, who were younger), in company with her three brothers,—Edmund, Charles and Thomas Polke,—came down the Ohio river to Kentucky in the year 1780. They landed at the Falls of the Ohio where the city of Louisville now is situated. They settled near Bardstown, Nelson county, Kentucky, in a stockade fort to protect them from the Indians, who were hostile.

"Thomas Piety was united in marriage with Miss Mary Duncan, when he was about twenty years of age, and shortly afterwards joined General Arthur Sinclair's [St. Clair's] army against the Indian tribes of the Northwest. Thomas Piety was in the battle of General Sinclair's Defeat, 1791, and was wounded; but he and a wounded soldier were mounted on a small pony horse and saved themselves in the retreat and returned home to Kentucky. He lived in Kentucky until the year 1814, and then moved to Indiana Territory in company with Abram McClelland and family.

"They settled where the town of Carlisle now stands in the winter of 1814-15. The Indians stole all their horses, which he had taken in payment for his land in Kentucky. In the month of February he removed into Polke's Fort in Knox county, Indiana Territory. In August following Thomas Piety and family settled on Congress lands on Maria creek, and here secured a home where he lived and died, 1835, aged about sixty-five years. His wife survived him many years, and died at the advanced age of eighty-two years. They were buried side by side, with a monumental stone upon which are engraved their respective ages and dates of their deaths, with that of children and grandchildren, near the Maria Creek Christian Church, on the banks of Maria creek.

"I cannot describe the jottings of the life of Thomas Piety, Sr., who lived and died on the outskirts of civilization, without stating some further particulars and incidents of his eventful life. He claimed to be the first American-born child in the Northwest Territory (1770). I have often made this statement, and on searching the pages of the early history for the nearest approach to it, find that it is that of Mrs. Heckewelder, born near Marietta, Ohio, in the year 1781, eleven years afterward. At the present writing, 1884, there are four survivors yet living, the descendants of Thomas

Piety, Sr., and wife, to-wit: Mrs. Sally P. Risly, 86 years, who still resides on the old farm of her father, Mrs. Ann P. Taylor in the Rock River country of Illinois, William D. Piety, near Bruceville, Knox county, Indiana, 76 years of age, and Mrs. Susan P. McQuaid of Franklin, Johnson county, Indiana, twenty miles south of Indianapolis, 72 years of age.

"There were born to them thirteen children, six sons and seven daughters, all of whom were fully grown men and women with exception of ———, who died aged four years in the year 1818. The descendants of Thomas Piety are now to be found all over the Northwest and Southwest from Texas to Oregon."

ISAAC MCCOY

"But who is this Isaac McCoy? He is of Irish descent, and was born near Uniontown, Pennsylvania, June 13, 1784. When he was six years of age his father, William McCoy, and his mother, Elizabeth McCoy, removed to Shelby County, Kentucky. He was converted at the age of sixteen years, and baptized by Joshua Morris, March 6, 1801. The best schools around him could only teach him reading, writing, and arithmetic, but he made rapid progress in grace and knowledge. He was married before he was twenty years old to Miss Christiana Polke, a daughter of Captain Charles Polke. She was a lady most admirably adapted to the great work that was before him, though then unseen. At the age of twenty-six years he was ordained at the Baptist church at Maria creek, Knox county, Indiana Territory, about fifteen miles north of the Old Post Vincennes, which church he and his wife had joined by letter in the year 1810, only one year after its organization, which took place on the 20th of May, 1809, with thirteen members.

"The Wabash Association was formed in 1809. At the beginning of this association it contained only two ministers, to-wit, Isaac McCoy and Alexander Devin, on the Wabash and south to the Ohio river. A meeting of the Wabash Association was held October 20, in the year 1810, at the Bethlehem church, Knox county, Indiana Territory. It was composed of six churches and 143 members. Elder George Waller, from Shelby county, Kentucky, preached the introductory sermon. Alexander Devin was moderator, and William Polke, clerk.

"After the ordination of Isaac McCoy by George Waller and Alexander Devin as ministers, in 1810, at Maria creek (see Benedict's *History*, Vol. 2, pages 263 and 548), Isaac McCoy purchased a small tract of land, 90 acres, on Maria creek, on which he resided until 1818. He was a wheelwright by trade and during all his leisure time he made and repaired spinning wheels, both large and small, also frame chairs, etc. In the summer of 1818, he, in company with Elder Hinson Hubbs, of Kentucky, went west to St. Louis, Missouri. He visited Rock Springs, St. Clair county, Illinois Territory. Rev. Peck and Rev. Welch had established a mission at Rock Springs and a theological school was afterwards established at this place. Isaac McCoy returned home only in time to witness the death of his eldest daughter, Mahala, in her fourteenth year, who died the 13th day of August, 1818. She is buried in the old churchyard on the banks of Maria creek.

"Isaac McCoy engaged in the missionary work this year (1818), and removed in the autumn of this year to an Indian reservation, six miles square, on a township of thirty-six sections of one mile square each, situated on the waters of Raccoon creek, Parke county, Indiana. Here he erected buildings and a schoolhouse and opened up a school, collecting a number of Indian boys and girls of French and Indian descent. But in this new country he and his family were greatly afflicted by sickness, and the school was suspended for a time. Isaac McCoy was attacked by typhoid fever during his stay at this place, and sent to Vincennes, eighty-five miles distant, for his old doctor, Jacob Kuykendall, his old physician, in Knox county. The doctor and my father, Charles Polke, set out on horseback, and at the rate of five miles per hour made the trip in seventeen hours. The doctor administered successfully and returned to his home in Vincennes. But McCoy's field of labor was too circumscribed here at this place, and in the spring of 1820 he went to Fort Wayne, about 150 miles through the wilderness of Indian country. He returned and moved to Fort Wayne, and occupied the garrison barracks and other buildings which had been used by the soldiers at this place. And here at this place he gathered in seventy or eighty Indian children, from twelve to fifteen years of age, and opened up a school, and many of them were taught to read and write.

"Mr. McCoy traveled far and extensively, and his devoted and

self-denying wife and others attended the mission family and school until October, 1822, when McCoy removed to Carey Station, situated near Niles, Michigan. Here he labored until the year 1829, when McCoy's whole time and energies were spent in the removal of the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi river to the Indian Territory; and in 1830 Carey Station was abandoned.

"In the year 1842 the American Indian Association was formed. Mr. McCoy was its originator and the secretary of the same. His headquarters were at Louisville, Kentucky, and for four years he pleaded the cause of the poor Indians. He died at Louisville on the 21st day of June, 1846, aged 62 years.

"When Isaac McCoy engaged, in the year 1818, in the missionary work, a strong tide of opposition arose against foreign and domestic missions in the Wabash and other (Baptist) associations of Indiana and Illinois. The opposition to missions was headed by Daniel Parker of Newport, Illinois, and others, generally known as the "Two-seed Baptists." This produced a split in the Wabash Association about the year 1824.

"The Two-seed Baptists retained the name of the Wabash Association. Those churches which were the advocates of missionary work organized the Union Association, a large and influential body, and by this name it is known at present (1881). It has held its annual meeting for sixty years. The old 'Wabash Association' after five years declined and ceased to meet at its annual meeting, and today is one of the things of the past."

CHARLES POLKE, JR.

"Charles Polke, son of Captain Charles Polke, was born at Detroit, Michigan, in the British garrison, October 20th, 1782, his father's family having been taken prisoners in Kentucky and taken to Detroit by a band of Indian warriors. His father went to Detroit in 1783, and recovered his lost ones and returned to Kentucky. Few educational advantages were enjoyed in that early day, and Charles Polke never had gone to school one year, all told; yet he learned to read and write, and by self application was enabled to transact business and become an active and useful citizen in the early settlement of Indiana Territory.

"Charles Polke came out to the 'Old Post Vincennes' in the

spring of 1806, and rented some land of Judge Henry Vanderburgh near the Fair Grounds and cultivated a crop of corn. He returned to Shelby county, Kentucky, and having sold his small farm on the waters of Clear creek and Gulf's creek, near their junction at Brashear's creek or headwaters of Salt River, Kentucky (a river ever made memorable by many disappointed politicians of Kentucky and Indiana), he emigrated to Indiana Territory on pack horses. He crossed the Ohio river seven miles below Louisville at Oatmans' Ferry, below the highlands on the west side of the Ohio river. He traveled along the Indian trace by way of Corydon, the Blue river barrens, the French Licks, down the Patoka river, past White Oak Springs and the Mud Holes to White river, crossing it below the junction of east and west forks at Wright's old ferry to Vincennes. This was the old route through the wilderness to the Falls on the Ohio river, and no wagon or carriage had ever passed through it until 1808, when a train of emigrants came through to Vincennes, with their wagons and stock following this old buffalo and Indian traceway as above described.

"Charles Polke made short stay in Vincennes. He bought 100 acres of land on the waters of Maria creek, 15 miles north of Vincennes, and during the year 1807 erected a log cabin and commenced improving here on these lands. The Miami and Delaware Indian hunting grounds were here, and during the fall season they were encamped all along Maria creek at the springs of water, and were peaceable until 1809 and 1810. Then they became troublesome, being set on by British agents, by Tecumseh and other war chiefs. This new country was grown up with high grass and on the prairies and barrens the fires in the fall of the year were terrific. There were no roads, no farms, and little or no stock to graze it down. The fires would run all over the lands from the Wabash river to White river, leaving prairies black and bleak, and the barrens and small glades with few exceptions in the same condition. On the north, Busseron creek with its few settlers was the limit of the white settlements, and on the east we were on the outside settlement to the border settlements of the Ohio State line on the waters of the White Water river in Wayne and Franklin counties, Indiana. This remained a new country for forty years and was subject to great sufferings from sickness, fever and ague prevailing among the border settlers and whole families being prostrated by

sickness, not one member being able to help another. The sickness brought about great suffering but did not prove fatal to that extent that might be supposed. The War of 1812 between the United States and England terminated December, 1814; and the tide of immigration flowing in from the surrounding states, this wild condition of our country soon changed and Indiana Territory in 1816 became the State of Indiana.

"Charles Polke was at the battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811, going with General Harrison's army up the Wabash. On their way they erected the 'Outpost Fort Harrison' a few miles above the city of Terre Haute. But these are all matters of history on which I need not dwell. In the year 1816 Indiana Territory became the State of Indiana and Knox county—the mother county—extended north to the southern end of Lake Michigan.

"Charles Polke died in the year 1845, aged 63 years, having lived to see wonderful changes in his day over all the wild country of northern Indiana. He saw the wilderness and solitary places give way to the tide of immigration of civilized and Christianized men and women; and in place of the Indian wigwams and war-whoop he saw those waste places become the homes of civilized man with farms and villages, towns and cities, with school houses, church houses, railroads, etc. But on these changes I need not now dwell, and therefore will bring to a close these jottings of pioneer life."

JAMES POLKE

"James Polke, author of these memoirs, the eldest son of Charles Polke and Margaret his wife, was born on the 5th day of September, 1804, in Shelby county, Kentucky, near the junction of Clear creek and Gulf's creek, forming Brashear's creek, a tributary of Salt river, which runs into the Ohio river below the city of Louisville.

"My father, Charles Polke, was united in marriage with Margaret McQuaid, the eldest daughter of Rev. James McQuaid, in the year 1803. My father bought a small tract of land in the deep and dark forest of that early day of pioneer life in that (then) new country. The locality of his new home proved to be sickly, subject to fever and ague and in the year 1806 he sold out his new home and came out to 'Old Post Vincennes.'

"My father carried me in his lap on horseback and my mother carried my eldest sister (Delilah), then about nine months old. With their pack horses they rode through the wilderness over one hundred miles and arrived at the 'Old Post' in September, 1806. The village was composed of French inhabitants and Indian traders, with but few American inhabitants. Major William Bruce, a brother-in-law of my father, had come to Indiana Territory in 1805 and settled about 8 miles north of Vincennes, where the town of Bruceville is now located, lots having been sold in 1816. My father spent the first winter here and during his stay bought 100 acres of land on the waters of Maria creek. In the early spring of 1807 he erected a cabin house on this land and made a permanent settlement. He lived and died on the same (in 1845), my mother surviving him ten years and dying in 1855, aged 70 years. The first dawning of my memory of the things of my eventful life were here in this humble cabin house. Here we were in Indiana Territory, the country wild and unsettled, surrounded by Indians in this (then) wilderness land. The Indians camped and hunted around us during their hunting season and the crack of the rifle could be heard almost any day, killing deer, wild turkeys and other game: but all was peaceable then. About the year 1810 things were changed by the influence of British traders over the war chiefs among the Indian tribes of the Northwest; but this is a matter of history, as are the Indian war of 1811 and the British war of 1812 which followed, and the peace that followed in 1815.

"In this new country, as indicated, my experience of life commenced and for the first 5 years of my life events are deeply imprinted on the tablet of my heart and memory. The Indian War of 1811 was fast looming up and my father took me on horseback behind him to my grandfather's in Shelby county, Kentucky. We traveled the trace-way by which he had come to Indiana Territory in 1806—through the Blue River Barrens by Corydon, Harrison County, Indiana. My uncle, Spier Spencer, the first sheriff of the county (1808), lived here. He had been with General Sinclair [St. Clair] and General Wayne in the early Indian wars. He had organized a volunteer company to fight the savage Indians of the Upper Wabash on the Tippecanoe. I saw him parade his company in the streets of Corydon. He joined General Harrison at Vincennes, then the headquarters. My father soon returned to Indiana

and joined in General Harrison's campaign to Tippecanoe, which was fought on the 7th of November, 1811. Those brave heroes fell—Joseph Daviess, Abram Owen, Captain Spencer and others. The army returned by Fort Harrison, an outpost erected by the army on their march up the Wabash river, sixty miles north of Vincennes in the immediate neighborhood of Terre Haute, Indiana.

"I remained in Kentucky two years and in August, 1813, returned home to Knox county. I was sent to such schools as were common at that day and learned to spell and read some. My mother and five small children, with a portion of William Polke's family, were sent to Kentucky in the spring of 1813, and all returned in August, 1813, as above stated, to the old fort on William Polke's farm. In the early spring of 1814, my father removed his family to our old cabin house on the farm and risked all danger from roving war parties of Indians in their raids on the frontiers of Indiana and Illinois Territories.

"In the year 1821, when I was seventeen years of age, I went with Judge William Polke and his sister, Mrs. Christiana McCoy, with her four small children to Fort Wayne on horseback. (William Polk and Christiana McCoy, wife of the Rev. Isaac McCoy, and four small children, had just made the voyage down the Wabash in a pirogue or large canoe in the month of April from Fort Wayne. They floated down the stream by day and when the night came on they landed their canoe and struck up camp on the bank of the river, taking their tent, camping equipage, etc., from the canoe, remaining over night and renewing their journey next day. They were ten days making this voyage by the river from Ft. Wayne, Indiana to Vincennes. The mosquitoes were very thick in these forests and annoyed them at their landings.) We set out on the 5th of September, 1821, from Knox county, Indiana, up the Wabash river by way of Merom and Terre Haute, which was a small town at that early day. We took dinner five miles above the town at Colonel Tuttle's, and setting Christiana McCoy, a sister of William Polke out, crossing Otter creek at Markleville, and from thence to Jacob Bell's on Raccoon creek, remaining over night. We set out the next morning and made a short stop at dinner at our old friend Lemuel Mormon's, in the 'Hart' settlement on the outside or frontier at that early day. And here taking the Indian trace through the wilderness of forest trees up Raccoon creek, we made our first encampment in the wilder-

ness at a deserted Indian village, on Little Raccoon creek, called 'Cornstalk village,' about two miles from Ladoga of the present day and about ten miles from Crawfordsville, Indiana. The following day we passed old 'Thorntown,' a deserted village in Boone county on the head waters of Sugar creek. The third night we struck up camp on the waters of Deer creek and on the fourth day we crossed Pipe creek about five miles from the Missionary town and here were the Indian wigwams or camps still held by the Manu [Munsee] Indians, some sixty or seventy in number. We crossed the rocky streams at their town and traveled ten miles and crossed Wabash river near the mouth of Salamony or Lagro of the present day. We traveled, we supposed, about thirty miles a day, in Indian style, along these narrow traceways and often got into yellow jackets' nests which wild animals had torn out.

"The northern portion of Indiana was a wilderness from Parke county, Indiana, on the waters of Raccoon creek, to Fort Wayne, 150 miles distant. We were five days in this wilderness country, camping out of nights. We would put bells on our horses and hobble them at night, to feed on the wild pea vine and blue grass pastures along the trace-way. We traveled the Indian trace up the Wabash by way of Ladoga, old Thorntown, on the head waters of the Sugar creek, crossing Wildcat, Deer and Pike creeks, to Massunaway at the old town. There were about sixty Indians in their bark houses at this place. We crossed the Wabash river near the mouth of Salamony, near Lagro, thence up to the forks of the river at Huntington, thence by Raccoon village or Roanoke to the portage dividing the waters of the Wabash south and the waters of the Maumee north. I was then 17 years of age. We arrived safely at the fort and found all alive, it being the time of the payment to the Indians of some \$20,000 and other goods, the Miamis and Pottawattamies.

"Fort Wayne was not occupied by soldiers, but the 'Old Fort' and barracks and flagstaff with flag fluttering in the breeze were there. A few Indian traders were in log huts in the village, the Ewings and Coquelards. Also a few settlers in the neighborhood and the Indian agent, Benjamin Kircheville [or Kercheval]. The fort stood at the junction of St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers which form the Maumee river, flowing to Lake Erie, and made memorable by General Harmer's defeat in 1790 by the Indians.

Here I saw the last grand rally of the Indians, 700 in number, encamped around the old fort to receive heir money from the Indian agent, about \$20,000, and other goods which suited their modes of living—blankets, guns, powder and lead, knives, camping kettles, etc.

"The village consisted of a few log houses outside the fort and some cultivated land. The Indian traders, the Ewings, Coquelards, etc., had goods in the log houses for the Indian trade. The barracks of the fort was used for the missionary's family, by Elder Isaac McCoy and for schooling Indian children. A number of Indian children from ten to twenty years were collected in this missionary school and many were learning to read and write.

"After a few days stay, my uncle, Judge William Polke and I returned. I had enjoyed a fishing party down the Maumee two or three miles with the Indian boys in a large canoe, with gigs. We took in some nice fish. Our journey through the wilderness afforded much to talk of for many years.

"In 1822, the Rev. Isaac McCoy removed his missionary family and school to the St. Joseph river, Michigan, near the city of Niles, Berrien county, about fifteen furlongs from the late at the mouth of the St. Joseph river. This had once been the home of the Pottawattamie Indians, as shown by the large section of land grown over with blue grass and corn hills for many miles and other traces of early Indian settlements and their traditions.

"Judge William Polke had joined in the missionary work at Fort Wayne and followed it up in the new fields of labor. In order to obtain a supply of pork for their family of near eighty persons (including the Indian children attending school), he came to Indiana to purchase hogs to be driven on foot to the Carey Mission, Michigan. In the month of December, 1823, he left Knox county, Indiana. Mr. Polke got four hands to assist him in his undertaking of collecting and driving hogs through this wilderness to Michigan. Mr. John Hansbrough and George W. Linsey, sons-in-law of Mr. Polke, and John Cox and myself (then in my nineteenth year) agreed to go to Michigan with this drove of hogs. We went through Clay county and bought hogs on the Walnut fork of Eel river, near the town of Bowlinggreen, the first county seat laid off for Clay county, Indiana. We were successful in gathering together our drove of hogs off the oak and hickory and beechwoods.

These hogs lived, grew and fattened in the woods. The hogs were bought and the price paid in silver money was \$1.25 per hundred, gross weight, or about \$1.50, net weight. We set out from this frontier neighborhood by way of Greencastle, Putnam county and from thence to Crawfordsville, Montgomery county, Indiana. Here we were on the outskirts of all settlement. Four families had gone into the Wea Prairie some fifteen miles distant the spring before, and plowed up a hundred acres of prairie and planted it in corn before the lands were opened for sale or settlement. We reached this settlement the first night after leaving Crawfordsville. Proceeding the next day, we reached the Wabash river below the mouth of Wildcat creek, at Davis's Indian trading-house on the west side of the river Wabash. We had two horses with us on which were packed our camping equipage and our provisions on this journey of over 115 miles distance.

"We succeeded in getting a long perogin [pirogue] and a canoe from his trading-house across the river with some assistance, and forcing the hogs into the river between these water crafts, they all swam across the river safely. Then we swam our horses across above our canoe. It was a cold swim as there was snow on the ground and ice on the river. But we were fortunate in getting these watercrafts and in getting our drove and horses and ourselves all landed over the river Wabash, which was the most formidable obstacle to overcome on our journey. We had a hundred miles of wilderness to travel, mainly up the river Tippecanoe. And here from Davis's trading-house we took the wrong Indian trace. Passing over the Tippecanoe Battle Ground and leaving the trace, we bore more to the east, camping out in the woods that night. The next morning, falling in company with some Indian men, they showed us the Indian trace in the prairie north of the Battle Ground, some two miles above it.

"On the second day we came to the banks of the Tippecanoe river and crossed the Little Tippecanoe, encamping in an open barren country where it became cold and frosty. On the third day it was bleak and cold and we encountered some difficulty from the marshes being frozen over with ice. Unacquainted, we had to make our way with a considerable degree of uncertainty. We had to break through these frozen-over marshes and wade through the ice and water as they came, also all the creeks before us. This was

severe at times in the open prairies and barrens. However, in all our journey we were never in ice and water over waist deep. On the third night we encamped near a bluff on the Tippecanoe river, near where the place of Monticello in White county is now situated. There is a great sameness in the appearance of the country up this river, made up of barrens and strips of low prairie with palms, etc., until you reach the southern bend of St. Joseph's river. Sumptuous Prairie is the largest prairie in this section of the country, with some good burr-oak barrens, etc., and good-looking lands.

"We were six days out from our crossing the Wabash river, arriving at our journey's end on the 24th day of December, 1823. The next day was Christmas Eve and a good merry time spent at Carey Station on the waters of the St. Joseph, the first and last of it ever seen by me. After a few days, December 27, we four persons and one horse set out to retrace our journey homeward. There was some snow on the ground, but the weather clear, thawing some at midday, and in all our journey going and returning home we remained healthy.

"We left the mission station on the 27th day of December, 1823, with our pony carrying our camp-tent and provisions for the journey. We had calculated to reach the Wabash river, 100 miles distant, at the end of the third day, but the morning of the fourth day we were ten or twelve miles above the Tippecanoe Battle Ground, short of provisions—on about one-half rations. The weather had moderated and the snow melted and the snow water running into our narrow trace made it disagreeable traveling, but about noonday we got to Davis's trading house where we expected to get something to eat. In this we were disappointed, finding that Mr. and Mrs. Davis were absent from home, and after a short stop here, we crossed over the Wabash in a canoe, swimming our pony across the river beside the canoe. We were now on the east side of the river and it was the afternoon of the fourth day. We set forward to reach the settlement on Wea Prairie some six or eight miles distant, arriving at this out settlement of four families, to-wit, Black, Babcock and Thorntons, late in the afternoon. We had staid here with our drove of hogs on our trip to Michigan with Mr. Black, or rather Mrs. Black and family, composed of eight or ten children, two or three of whom were large young women, fully grown. We were hospitably treated in our outward journey and

here we were back again on the borders of civilization. The father and mother were both absent, but the girls took us in for the night. We were hungry and weary with our travel through melted snow and presented rather a hard appearance. We found the family out of flour and meal and one of the girls took buckwheat and ground it on a hand-mill, while the others made other preparations for the supper. As soon as could be expected the supper was announced as ready and before us these good girls had served up pork and potatoes, buckwheat cakes, with honey and milk, etc., and we did ample justice to the good things set before us. Our host had gone to the Ohio river for money to meet the land sale at Crawfordsville and had not returned, and now the land sale of the district was in progress. The wife had gone to the sale of lands, in order if possible, to save their Congress improvements [a squatter's rights under the law] and their new home on this frontier settlement. About the time the supper was ended the mother came home from the land sale at Crawfordsville and reported her good success—and there was joy in the household that night. All were merry and cheerful. She had made a friend in the person of Mr. Ambrose Whitlock, the Receiver of the land office, who had assisted her in securing their home. December 31, 1823, on the morning of the last day of the year we left our hospitable friends and went to Crawfordsville and remained over night with Mr. Henry Restine, who kept a tavern. Mr. Restine had been in the ranging service of the War of 1812 and had boarded at Polke's Fort in Knox county, therefore we were agreeably entertained and every courtesy extended to us as desirable.

"The Crawfordsville land district embraced a large section of rich land on the upper Wabash. It had attracted a large crowd of land speculators and the tide of immigration and settlement was flowing rapidly up the Wabash river and to the West. Indeed the Wea and Shawin Prairies in Tippecanoe county were a very desirable section of country and are now in a high state of improvement.

"We left Crawfordsville for Greencastle, where we remained over night and on the next day we continued our journey. The weather was warm and our roads muddy. Through Curry's Prairie we had to wade through water from shoe-mouth deep to half-a-leg deep for miles. And here I will remark that in all our trip there never was a night on going out or returning home but

our feet were wet. And we remained in good health. On the eighth day after leaving 'Carey Mission,' in Berrien county, Michigan, we arrived at our home in Knox county, Indiana. The estimated distance traveled was something over two hundred miles.

"I now had entered my twentieth year of age. My father's family were now growing up to manhood and womanhood, and he had gone into trading down the river to New Orleans, on flat boats, and had made one trip and was busy with boat-building in order to load it with produce and make another trip in the early spring. I now was put in charge of the farm during his absence down the river, to take care of stock and other business and plow land, plant corn and cultivate the same. So things were passing away and farming and river-trading were becoming different callings. The farm was running down, the fences and buildings were down and becoming dilapidated, and the wants of the large family were many. For the next two years a great sameness of life took place—the winters consuming all the summers could yield. I now had become of age, or full twenty years old. My father had traded down the river and had been unsuccessful and had become involved in debt and, as intimated, the farm was in a bad condition, fences and buildings needing repairs. Indeed the fences had to be repaired in order to secure the crop. For the last six months, after becoming of age, before setting out in life, for my mother's and sisters' and the children's sake, I still remained on the farm as one of the family. During the winter of 1826 I cut and split four thousand rails and took the team and hauled them all round the farm for repairing of fences.

"In the month of February, I left my father's house with horse, saddle and bridle. Possessed of strong body and strong will, with spirits buoyant with an education sufficient to transact my own business in life, my first adventure was to assist in opening up and tending a sugar camp on White river, near where the town of Edwardsport now stands.

"In the spring of 1826 I left the home of my father and mother and took charge of a small farm near Edwardsport on which William Keith had taken a lease of years. I took the oversight of the boys and cultivated a corn crop of some twenty-five acres on shares, which yielded me near four hundred bushels of corn. After the corn crop was laid by I was then employed by citizens of the neigh-

borhood to teach school and for the first time I undertook the task of school-keeping, for three months. Some of my school children were on the east side of White river and had to cross over in a canoe mornings and evenings to attend school. By the united efforts of the two neighborhoods, thirty or forty scholars were gathered in this school, the first on the west banks of White river ever taught above 'Decker's Old Station' on the Vincennes and Evansville road. After the expiration of school, I assisted my father in getting out timbers and building a flatboat, gathering a crop of corn, etc., until the early spring of 1827. When the early rise in the river came we were ready to make the trip to New Orleans. We set sail and after a long tedious voyage of some five or six weeks, we landed at the city of New Orleans. After making sale of our boat-load of produce, at most ruinous prices, we boarded the steamboat 'Hibernia,' and at the end of nine days and nights were landed in Evansville, on the Ohio river. The town was a little dog-fennel village at that early day. We set out on foot for Vincennes, Knox county, Indiana, but were soon leg-weary and sore-footed. We then hired a hack to convey us to Vincennes. We were gone about two months on this voyage to the city of New Orleans. After my return home off the river, I labored on my father's farm through the summer of 1827. My eldest sister Delilah and I took a journey to Shelby county, Kentucky, and from thence to Union county, Indiana. I returned home by Indianapolis. It was then a new place, a stumpy little town."

HENRY McQUAID

"Henry McQuaid emigrated from Ireland to America in the fore part of 1700. He settled in Shelby County, Kentucky, in 1782, at the close of the Revolutionary War. He secured a large tract of land at that early day, but from disputed titles he lost a portion of these lands. He died in 1795 and James McQuaid, his only son, settled on a portion of the lands acquired by his father, and lived and died on the same. James McQuaid was married to Isabel Pearce, about the year 1784, and there were born six sons and six daughters: Margaret McQuaid, the eldest, born January 10, 1785; Henry, Nancy, Polly, Elizabeth, John, Fanny, James, Joel; Milton and Malitta were twins; William was the youngest. All the children lived to be full grown men and women.

"James McQuaid was a farmer and cleared up and cultivated a large farm on which he lived forty-five years. He died at the age of 70 years. Henry McQuaid was a seceder Presbyterian in faith and a strict Sabbatarian. His son James united with the regular Baptist church and was licensed to preach and in time set apart by ordination. His father opposed him in his religious views, yet nevertheless, he labored for near fifty years in the ministry. Shortly after his ordination he became the pastor of the Clear Creek Baptist church, near Shelbyville, Kentucky, and for forty years he held the same without change. James McQuaid was a warm hearted devotional man. He was a good singer and exhorter and he labored successfully in the ministry and many souls were converted under his preaching and united with the Baptist churches of Shelby county and the surrounding counties.

"He became popular and married more young people than any other minister in all the surrounding country. He was called to their homes to marry them; they came to the church and to his house, and on the public highways to get married. James McQuaid organized a number of churches in Kentucky and in the year 1809 he came to Indiana Territory to visit his eldest daughter, Margaret Polk and family; and during his stay organized a church on Maria creek with thirteen members. This church exists at the present day, a large and influential body. It was organized on the 20th day of May, 1809. James McQuaid visited Indiana Territory in 1813 and again in 1818. The trouble of the Indian War had passed by and the country become quiet and the tide of immigration had flown into Indiana rapidly. The Baptist church which he had organized nine years previous was now in a prosperous and growing condition with more than one hundred members with no disturbing elements to its growth and prosperity."

ELDER WILLIAM STANCIL

"Died at his home in Sullivan, Sullivan County, Indiana, December 17, 1884, aged 84 years 8 months and 3 days. He was born in North Carolina, April 14, 1800. Came to Indiana Territory in 1808, was married to Celia Barber, 1818. Became a member of the Baptist church at Shiloh, in Perry County, Indiana, September 9, 1821. He was baptized by Elder Charles Polke and licensed to

preach in 1823, and ordained July 31, 1824. He was truly a pioneer preacher, traveling through heat and cold, mud and snow, through winds and storms to preach. He was instrumental in gathering in two thousand souls as the fruit of his labor. He enjoyed but few advantages in his younger days, and in truth he was a self made man. Elder William Stancil was a well developed man—six feet high and weighed about two hundred pounds. He traveled on horseback with his saddlebags. He preached in the log cabins, log school houses and log churches, over southern Indiana, and received but little pay for his labors. He has gone to receive his reward."

ROBERT POLKE

"Robert Polke, youngest son of Captain Polke, Sr., was born in Kentucky in 1798. His mother, Delilah Tyler, died at his birth and he was nursed and brought up by his elder sisters in his father's house until he was ten years old and then was brought to Indiana territory with his eldest brother, William Polke, in 1808. When sixteen years old he joined Andrie company of Rangers to guard the frontier settlements of Indiana and Illinois territories from Indian depredations and served until the Indian troubles were over and peace was declared between the United States and England at the close of the War of 1812.

"He was married to Elizabeth Widener in the year 1816 when he was 18 years old and bought a tract of land near New Lebanon in Sullivan county. After a few years he sold the land and returned to Knox county and later lived in Carlisle, Sullivan county. When the Upper Wabash was opened for settlement he moved to Logansport, Cass county. After a stay of some years he removed to Indian territory and engaged in the Indian trade among the Putawahens and died about the year 1842. His sons, to-wit: Thomas, John W., Perry, Charles and Robert and Mrs. Mary Shoate are residents of the State of Kansas (1883)."

HISTORY OF VINCENNES CHURCH

"About the year 1827 the *Christian Baptist* edited by Alexander Campbell of Brook county, Virginia, was introduced to my acquaintance by Brother Abner Davis. The articles on the Patriarchal,

Jewish and Christian dispensations, also the Kingdom of the Clergy, creeds, confession of faith, etc., stirred up investigation among the people. These were stirring times among the people of Kentucky, Indiana and elsewhere and a division took place and the first Christian church was organized at Bruceville in the year 1832, and others following.

"The Christian church at Maria Creek was organized 1833. Also the Christian church at Vincennes the same year (1833). And the following named preachers all of whom had labored among the Baptist churches became advocates of Primitive Christianity and stood firm to the end of life, to-wit: Abner Davis, David Warford, Bruce Field, John B. Haywood, Albert P. Law. All have passed over the Jordan to receive their reward. Morris R. Trimble entered the field as an evangelist. He was a tower of strength and an untiring worker in the cause. He also lies silent in the grave with a host of others with whom I have labored and fraternized."

JAMES MATHES

[The following statement, made by Mr. Mathes at an Old Settler's meeting at Gosport, August 9, 1883, when the author was seventy-six year old, was included by Mr. Polke in his memoir because, as he said: "I had travelled from Union county. by way of Connersville, Rushville, Indianapolis, Martinsville, Lamb's Bottom, Gosport, Spencer, Fairplay, Lattas Creek, and Black Creek to Knox county in 1827, and had killed a large rattlesnake in the trace almost where the town of Gosport now stands."]

"When I was a lad my parents came to the 'New Purchase' and settled on a tract of land, afterward owned by Thomas Sandy one mile north of Gosport. The old boundary line crossed the country west of the tract where Gosport now stands. We came to the place a year or more before land in the New Purchase was [opened]. All the country west to the Wabash river was then called Wabash Court. The country was then an unbroken wilderness. The noble red man roamed over the country and not a day passed over that we did not hear the crack of his rifle as he brought down the deer or turkey which were abundant in these early days, and the nights were made hideous by the howling of the wolves, the screams of the panther and the hootings of the owls. But we had a more deadly enemy than these. The terrible rattlesnakes lurked in our paths and

in our camps causing great terror by day and night. The snakes would den up in the winter in the rocky bluffs and crawl out in the spring and spread through the country. In October and November they would return to their dens in the bluffs and sinkholes by hundreds, lying torpid until warm weather. Their bites did not always prove fatal but still they were a terror.

"The first winter the settlers generally lived in camps, with open fronts and without floors, with bed-quilts and deer skins hung round with hickory or elm bark thrown on poles for floors on which they slept. The mother made johnny cake with sweet milk and venison or turkey for our fare.

"My father came to the settlement in 1820 when there were but few settlers here. Uncle Ephraim Goss and family with his son-in-law Philip Hodges, Jerry Sandy, Benjamin Arnold, Abner and William Anderson, David Lukinbill, John Treat, grandfather of W. B. F. Treat, and Isaac James and John Buskirk lived across the river. Others came in shortly afterwards and settled north of us. They were the Brasiers, Thompsons, Ashes, Steerwalt and sons, John and Jacob; Colonel Robert McWooden and others.

"The land where Gosport now stands belonged to a man in Ohio who wanted to sell it. My father and I wanted to buy it for the purpose of making a farm on it, but we were anticipated by other parties who got it. Colonel Wooden and others laid off the town of Gosport in 1828.

"I was married March 5, 1828 and the first work done after marriage was to cut and split 1,000 rails for old grandfather Dittmore, which I did in one week, walking from home a mile away and taking my dinner with me. I made the rails in the center of the city of Gosport, the first work done to improve the town and the price received was $33\frac{1}{3}$ cents per 100 or \$3.00 per 1,000. I invested this \$3.00 in sugar kettles with Mrs. Owens of Bloomington and I and my young wife made over 300 pounds of maple sugar, a part of which we exchanged with Mrs. Owens of whom we had bought the kettles, for coffee, paying fifty cent per pound for the coffee with sugar at twelve and one-half cents per pound."

MINOR NOTICES

MAJOR CHARLES M. TRAVIS

MAJOR CHARLES M. TRAVIS (1845-1913) was born in Grandview, Illinois, October 30, 1845. His early life was spent in this village. When but a lad of sixteen years of age he went to Paris, Illinois, and there enlisted in Company E of the Twelfth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry. He served with this regiment until the close of the Civil War, having taken part in over fifteen battles.

At the close of the Civil War he was appointed a cadet from General Sherman's army to West Point but resigned the commission and came to Indiana, attending school at the Waveland Academy at Waveland, Indiana, and graduating as the valedictorian of a class of thirty-five. He moved to Crawfordsville, Indiana, and became a student at Wabash College. He studied law under General Lew Wallace and the friendship between the two men was so firm that General Wallace received his student as his law partner. Under the administration of President U. S. Grant, Major Travis was appointed as United States consul to the port of Para, Brazil, South America, which office he filled with distinction. At the close of his term of office in this foreign port he returned to Crawfordsville, Indiana, and resumed his practice of law. He was a frequent contributor to the press and was active in fraternal and political circles. He was an orator of ability. In 1889 he was elected by the Grand Army of the Republic as Department Commander for Indiana, and during his administration laid the corner stone of the Indiana Soldiers' and Sailors' monument at Indianapolis.

He was appointed as one of the commissioners from Indiana to the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 and at the close of the Exposition was secured by the commissioners to prepare a complete report and embody it in book form for the government.

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Charles M. Travis was presented with a commission as major of the Eighth United States Infantry. His commission was signed by Secretary of War Alger, his warm personal friend. He at once joined his regiment and served till the close of the war and was mustered out,

a veteran of two wars. The last two years of his life his health was much broken and he died December 22, 1913 in a hospital at Danville, Illinois. October 7, 1872, Charles M. Travis was united in marriage to Mary DeEtta Salisbury of Cazenovia, New York, who with their son the Rev. C. Claud Travis, a clergyman at Fort Wayne, Indiana, survive him.

JOHN V. BUSKIRK

JOHN V. BUSKIRK was born near Gosport, Indiana, June 16, 1828, and died at that place December 26, 1913, aged 85 years. He was the youngest son of John Buskirk. In 1848 he married Lavada Starks who died in 1855.

The Buskirk family has a historic war record. The grandfather of John was in the Revolutionary war; his father was in the war of 1812 and suffered a wound in the battle of Tippecanoe. John was a member of Company B, Fourth Indiana Infantry in the Mexican war and Company F, Twenty-seventh Indiana Infantry during the Rebellion. During the Mexican war he fought in all the important battles from Pueblo to and including the capture of the City of Mexico. During the Rebellion he participated in the battle of Gettysburg and a great many more of those serious encounters. He has always been a very patriotic citizen. This spirit of patriotism was manifested the past summer when he went to the National Reunion of the Union and Confederate soldiers who fought at the battle of Gettysburg fifty years ago. In the "40s" he was one of the active "flat-boaters" on White river and made numerous trips from here to New Orleans on flat-boats loaded with meat and grain.

The funeral services were conducted at the home of his daughter, Mrs. M. E. Dunnigan, at Gosport, Sunday December 28, by Wm. S. Mead, Commander Gettysburg Post No. 95, G. A. R., of Spencer, Capt. D. E. Beem, past Department Commander, Capt. C. A. Hutchinson, Adjutant, Maj. W. W. Daugherty, U. S. A., retired, Maj. D. I. McCormick of the Spanish-American War and a platoon of Company D, First Regiment I. N. G., with Trumpeter M. E. McNaught, under command of Captain J. C. Clark and Lieutenant James Allen.

The obituary was then read by Dr. J. Wooden, one of the three survivors of the Mexican War, of Owen county. The other sur-

living Mexican veterans are Thomas A. McNaught, of Spencer, Dr. J. Wooden, of Gosport, and Captain Wellman, of Quincy.

The casket was draped with the old original flag of the Fourth Indiana Infantry, which was commanded by Colonel Willis A. Gorman during the war with Mexico. This is an honor seldom conferred at a soldier's funeral and was made possible only through the courtesy of Major McCormick, custodian of flags in the State library, who with Major Daugherty brought the flag from the State House for the occasion. The remains were taken in charge by the Guard of Honor under command of Captain Clark and Lieutenant Allen and escorted to their final resting place in the Buskirk cemetery, where they were interred with the honors of war, the last tribute of respect that can be paid by comrades in arms to a deceased soldier.

JUDGE CASSIUS C. HADLEY

CASSIUS C. HADLEY, former judge of the Appellate Court, of Indiana, died early Monday, November 14, 1913, at his home, 2007 North Delaware street, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Mr. Hadley was born August 9, 1862, at Avon, Hendricks county; was educated at Butler College and graduated from the law school of DePauw University. He came to Indianapolis several years ago. Previous to that time he had been prosecutor in Scott county, Kansas, and had practiced law for seven years in Danville, where he was a member of the law firm of Cofer and Hadley.

Prior to 1907 he was for four years assistant attorney-general of Indiana under William L. Taylor, and for four years under Charles W. Miller. He was elected a judge of the appellate court in 1906, and served a full term, from 1907 to 1911.

REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS BURIED IN INDIANA

[The following data concerning Revolutionary soldiers buried in Indiana was furnished by Miss Frances E. Emerson, of Plymouth, Indiana, State Historian of the Indiana D. A. R. Other lists are given in volumes I, II, III and VIII.]

James Brownlee was born in Tarfott, Scotland, in 1745 and died in Indiana in 1828. He is buried in Flat Rock cemetery, Rush county. He was married in 1771 to Jean Rankin who died in 1783. He was a private in Capt. Abner Wowell's company, from Washing-

ton county, Pennsylvania, enlisting in 1782 for service on the frontier. His children were: John; Jane, who died unmarried; Elizabeth, who married Platt Bayless Dickson; James, who married Kate Ewing, and Hugh, who married Rebecca Vincent.

John Lewis was born in Loudon county, Virginia, June 23, 1748 and died in Rush county, Indiana, in 1847. He is buried in Flat Rock cemetery Rush county. He applied for a pension April 10, 1833, while a resident of Rush county, and his pension was allowed. He enlisted May 1, 1777 in Captain Mason's company, Col. Abraham Shepherd's regiment, Virginia line and served one month. He re-enlisted in Capt. Isaac Pierce's company, Major Taylor's regiment, Virginia line. He afterward moved to Pennsylvania, where he again enlisted in 1780 and served one month as sergeant in Captain Bates' company, Colonel Campbell's regiment.

Richard Arnold was born in Ireland, in 1757, resided in Durham township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, where he enlisted and served in 1776 and 1777 four months, as private and during 1778, 1779 and 1780, twenty-six months as artificer, in the Pennsylvania and New Jersey lines and was in an engagement near Seven Star Tavern, Chester county, Pennsylvania. He married Mary Blackmore January 3, 1783. In 1832, he was seventy-five years of age; he died July 24 1843, in Dearborn county, Indiana, where his widow was pensioned in 1852. Children referred to are: George, Jane, Mary, William, Catharine, Richard, Samuel, Charles and Elizabeth.

William Daugherty, Sr., born in Chester county, Pennsylvania, in 1754, and died September 1, 1841 in Delaware county, Indiana. He married Lydia Cox on September 19, 1777, in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. In August, 1777, he enlisted under the command of Colonel Gaddis and later under Captain Swindler and Lieut. Michael Cat. September 1, 1778, he entered Capt. James Daugherty's company, Col. John Evans' regiment and served for six months and was discharged March 1, 1779. In April, 1779, he was called out for an enlistment of fifteen days and as soon as he returned home was called out for a term of fifteen days at Stradler's fort. He came to Delaware county in 1829. He is buried on the bank of White river below Yorktown, upon land owned by the late David Campbell. His grave is unmarked. His wife died May 9, 1851, aged 89 years, in Clinton county, Ohio, both William Daugherty and his wife being pensioners. Children were, Bridget Bell,

of Highland county, Ohio; James Daugherty, Clinton county, Ohio; Hannah Reed, Clinton county, Ohio; William Daugherty, Jr., Delaware county, Indiana; Elizabeth Reed, Delaware county, Indiana; Lydia Somers, Henry county, Indiana. William Daugherty, Jr., was a soldier in the War of 1812, enlisting at Lebanon, Ohio, in August, 1812, in Capt. John Spencer's company, Colonel Shumalt's regiment. He was born March 3, 1790, at or near Wilmington, Ohio and died September 29 1876, in Delaware county and is buried at Yorktown.

Joel Butler, a Baptist minister, born in Lancaster, Massachusetts, son of Asaph Butler. Settled in Windsor, Vermont, before or during the early part of the Revolutionary War. Was of the Congregational church but in 1780 became a Baptist and was soon ordained in work of the ministry. Was pastor at Woodstock, Vermont and about 1793 migrated to the region of the Mohawk valley, and towards 1800 to Soloville, Madison county, New York and preached in the adjoining towns. He died at Geneva, Indiana, September 13, 1822, aged 71 years. He had a son, Ora Butler, a Baptist clergyman. Ezra Butler, a younger brother of Joel was for a long time minister at Middleboro, Vermont, and one time member of Congress and governor of Vermont. Joel Butler served in the Revolutionary War.

Peter McDonald enlisted in Berkeley county, Virginia, in 1777 as a private under Captain Morgan and Captain Woodrow, Colonels Markham and Bowman in the Eighth Virginia Infantry. He was in the battle of Brandywine and Germantown, in which he was taken prisoner and detained as such for eight months and twelve days. Was also in the battle of Monmouth; served for three years exclusive of imprisonment and was discharged in 1781. He was born at Cape May. Lost his father when a boy and moved with his mother to Berkeley county, Virginia, where soon after his return from service, he married Catherine Wise. He had the following children: Mary, born January 6, 1784; John, born October 25, 1785; Sarah, born September 28, 1787, married Andrew Mitchel; James, born November 13, 1789; Catherine, born August 29, 1791, married John F. Dietz, June 10, 1810; Daniel, born September 6, 1793; Elizabeth, born August 20, 1795; Rachel, born April 14, 1798; Permeley, born September 15, 1800, married David Copple; David, born April 10, 1803; Peter, born January 18, 1806. He died March 6, 1825, in

Clark county, Indiana, where his widow died January 14, 1841 and the pension to which she would have been entitled was allowed in 1853 for the benefit of his surviving children: Mary, John, Sarah, James, Permeley, and David. McDonald's Ferry was situated near what is now Fern Grove or Fourteen Mile Creek, 14 miles above Jeffersonville. His burial place is not known, but in accordance with the custom of those days it is likely to be on his own farm.

JACOB V. WOLFE

JACOB V. WOLFE, a distinguished Indianaian, died at his winter home at Semmes, Alabama, December 26, 1913. He was born at Merom in Sullivan county, October 7, 1833. He graduated from Indiana University in 1857. After teaching for several years he entered the law school of Indiana University from which he graduated in 1863. He located at Spencer where he practiced law till 1871. He then moved to Lincoln, Nebraska, where he had since lived. He was an active politician, having served a term in the Indiana Legislature. He was a Granger and a supporter of Bryan.

HISTORY TEACHERS OF INDIANA

THE annual convention of the History Teachers of Indiana was held at the Claypool hotel, Indianapolis, February 13 and 14.

The discussions were all marked with commendable enthusiasm. There was considerable unrest manifested among the teachers in view of the readjustment necessary to meet the demands of the times expressed in vocational teaching. Harry W. Wood of the Manual Training High School of Indianapolis, discussed this tendency in its relation to Civics. His plan was to lay aside the old emphasis on constitutional and legislative history and acquaint the student with the actual machinery of government as it shows itself in the neighborhood. This can best be done by visiting the councils, courts and other governmental agencies.

In keeping with this idea some of the teachers would rearrange the course of study shifting the emphasis to those periods of history chiefly characterized by commercial readjustment. On the other hand there were those who think that history is of sufficient importance and dignity to stand alone. These would teach the lessons of

humanity from all periods of the world's history. They also deprecated the continual meddling with the course of study necessary if the subject of history must be reorganized for every fad that sweeps over the field of education.

A second line of discussion had to do with the Centennial Celebration of Indiana. The building of a Centennial Museum was discussed and a committee consisting of Dr. Woodburn of Indiana University, Dr. Moran of Purdue, and Professor Lindley of Earlham appointed to cooperate with others in creating a public sentiment favorable to the project. It was recognized that pretty hard work was ahead in this direction, due largely to the failure of the old Centennial Commission.

Various committees were appointed as follows: to revise the course of study—O. H. Williams, Bloomington, Harry W. Wood, Indianapolis, Dr. T. F. Moran, Lafayette; to prepare suitable material for the study of Indiana History—O. H. Williams, Bloomington, Mattie B. Lacy, Indianapolis, Prof. C. B. Coleman, Indianapolis, Dr. James A. Woodburn, Bloomington, Supt. C. V. Haworth, Kokomo, Adelaide Baylor, Indianapolis, Dr. Logan Esarey, Bloomington; to report on changes made necessary by the introduction of vocational education—Dr. Beverly W. Bond, Lafayette, Prof. Frank S. Bogardus, Terre Haute, Harry W. Wood, Indianapolis, Prof. W. H. Gipson, Crawfordsville, Beatrice Jones, Evansville; an executive committee to consider in connection with its other duties the feasibility of holding the next meeting earlier in the year—Dr. T. F. Moran, Lafayette, Chairman, R. D. Chadwick, Gary, Hope W. Graham, secretary, Indianapolis, Minnie Weyl, Terre Haute, Dr. Logan Esarey, Bloomington.

Besides these discussions excellent papers were read by Dr. Moran on "Should Indiana Have a New Constitution?" and by Dr. Woodburn on "Recent Currency Legislation."

Dr. Thomas F. Moran of Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, is the new chairman, and Hope W. Graham of Shortridge High School, Indianapolis, is secretary.

MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION

AN act of the Legislature of Michigan, 1913, provided for a Historical Commission to consist of seven members, six of whom were to be appointed by the Governor, the governor, ex officio being

the seventh member of the board. These members are to serve six years, without pay, one retiring annually.

This Commission has power to collect all historical material available in or out of the State and it is made the custodian of the same. Its power in this respect is wide. Records of Indian tribes, French explorers, missionaries and traders, English and American soldiers and settlers are to be sought. The survey is not limited to Michigan alone but includes the Northwest territory.

The act provides for a secretary at a salary of \$1,800 and a curator at \$1,000. The law sets aside \$5,000 per year for the expenses of the commission, the cost of printing and binding to be done by the State as other public printing is done.

The Commission includes the best historians of the State. Its first work will be to reprint the collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. These publications now number 38 volumes.

A series of volumes will be known as the *Original Documents Relating to the History of Michigan and the Northwest Territory*. These will succeed the *Pioneer and Historical Collections* mentioned above. The materials for this will be gathered from Washington, London, Paris, Quebec and elsewhere. W. G. Leland is now in Paris gathering this material.

The plan of distribution is especially commendable. One copy of each volume is to be given to each public library in the State and one to each State and University library as an exchange. Volumes will be sold for one dollar each to the public.

The Commission is organizing an Information Bureau of State History. When this is in working order it is hoped a secretary will be able to supply free to all citizens any information in regard to the State History.

The commission cooperates with all county societies, all colleges and libraries. It prepares directions and bibliography for local work, and coordinates the work being done in various parts of the State.

The Commission is also preparing for the construction of a State museum as a home for its historical property. Michigan is thus preparing in a worthy way to take care of its history. The only expense entailed on the State is the cost of publication which is only a trifle. Yet it is that trifle which now keeps Indiana from publishing anything in this field. A publication fund of \$10,000 per

year would enable the historians of Indiana to do for our State what is being done by our neighboring States.

A CONFERENCE ON TAXATION

ON February 5th and 6th, there took place at the University a very notable event in the form of "A Conference on Taxation in Indiana." From all parts of the State were assembled public officials, both State and local, students of public finance and representatives of the business interests, to participate in a varied program dealing with the important subject of taxation and tax administration. In all, seventy persons were registered in attendance, exclusive of the members of the University.

All arrangements for the conference were made by President Bryan and Prof. Rawles, as director of the Extension Division. In a "foreword" to the program sent out with the invitations to attend the meeting, the object of the conference was clearly stated, as follows: "The subject of taxation is important to every citizen of the State. Progress toward the ideals of social justice and industrial efficiency is impeded by an imperfect system of taxation. No apologies seem necessary for the calling of a conference to consider in a dispassionate way the present situation in Indiana with a view to ascertaining just what are the imperfections in our system, and how they may be remedied."

Governor Ralston, who was expected to preside at the opening session on Thursday morning, February 5th, was unfortunately unable to be present. The Hon. John B. Stoll, the respected veteran editor of South Bend, was secured to act in his place. An address of welcome was delivered by President Bryan, who emphasized the great importance of the subject of taxation as exemplified in the world's history.

The conference was particularly fortunate in securing as speakers from outside the State such men as Mr. Lawson Purdy, Drs. Thomas S. Adams, Joseph French Johnson, David Friday and Raymond V. Phelan. What they had to say carried with it the weight of authority in a high degree. The tax features of important, progressive States were presented by them in a clear and forceful way while, in addition, the fundamental principles of taxation were driven home with convincing logic. While there was some dissent as to the advisability of adapting certain features from the tax sys-

tems of other States, to that of Indiana, yet it was generally admitted by those present that Indiana would do well to profit by the success of her sister commonwealths.

In the discussion of our local tax laws, the attention of the conference was directed chiefly to two things, the taxation of intangible property and the control of local assessments. Generally speaking, it was the view of the conference that the present taxing clause of the State Constitution, providing for the general property tax, fails to meet with success or to provide equality, when applied to the taxation of money, credits and other forms of intangible property: Under the present system such property largely escapes or, if assessed, it pays more than its proper burden. Instead of the general property tax, a "classification" system was urged, thus allowing for the imposition of different rates of taxation on different classes of property, or even the total exemption of certain kinds of property. In order to adopt such a system a change in the State's Constitution would be necessary. Accordingly there was strong sentiment in favor of a Constitutional Convention, preceded by the appointment of a special tax commission to make an exhaustive study of Indiana's needs.

The second question which caused lively discussion was the defects of our present methods of assessment. The members of the State Board of Tax Commissioners asserted that the local assessments were perforce most unequal and unjust, because the Board had neither control over the selection of the local assessors nor the power to order a reassessment where careless, inefficient, or discriminating work had been done. The placing of assessors on a civil service basis was urged, so as to take them out of the trammels of local politics. On the other hand sharp criticism was directed at the State Board itself by the Hon. J. P. Dunn, who asserted that the body was even more deficient in the assessment of railroad property, which is intrusted to it, than were the local assessors in their work.

The crowning work of the meeting was the formation of the "Indiana State Tax Conference" instituted to carry on the work of public education. In fitting recognition of his work in starting the movement, Prof. W. A. Rawles was chosen president of the permanent organization. Other officers selected were, John B. Stoll, John A. Lapp, Dan M. Link, Fred E. Simms and L. S. Bowman,

vice-presidents, Fred B. Johnson, secretary and W. K. Stewart, treasurer.

Altogether the conference was a most successful one. Its fruits seem bound to appear in a more intelligent understanding of local tax problems and in greater prestige for the University throughout the State. Indiana University showed that it possessed rare opportunities for serving the people. Everywhere there was expression of opinion among the delegates at the conference that our ultimate goal should be, and would be, that of Wisconsin and Minnesota. The proceedings of the conference will be published by the University.

FRANK STOCKTON

COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA

THE National Society of the Colonial Dames of America is taking up in a systematic and comprehensive way the preservation of materials relating to its history. A committee on the Preservation of Existing Records has been appointed and is now actively at work. This committee has asked the members of the society resident in Indiana to assist in this work. The following information and records are desired:

1. Records in family Bibles. The names and addresses of all persons possessing family Bibles containing such records.
2. The condition of the town records of the oldest town in each county, whether the records are kept in a fireproof safe, whether the county or town authorities are interested in the preservation of such records.
3. The oldest graveyards in each county, their condition, location and number of colonial stones contained.
4. The oldest church organization in each county, the age of the present building, the oldest church records, and their condition and state of preservation.
5. An exhibition of American Samplers is to be held at Indianapolis as soon as a sufficient number of samplers can be located. Information concerning the location of these is desired.
6. Old wills will be examined and any information concerning the persons of Revolutionary time or fame noted.

This is a commendable work and the *MAGAZINE* urges all persons, who can, to assist in the survey. Correspondence concerning this work may be addressed to Mrs. E. F. Hodges, 414 Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, Indiana.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

The Life of Thaddeus Stevens, By JAMES A. WOODBURN, PH.D.
(Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.) Pp. 610. 1913.

Books sometimes suffer, as children do, from inability to choose the author of their being. This biography, the best and probably the definitive life of Stevens, does not belong to this class. A satisfactory account of the great "reconstructionist" could not be written by a man of partisan spirit; it would be either a fulsome eulogy or an untempered denunciation. Professor Woodburn's historical spirit and natural disposition combine to produce a biography which does full justice to its subject and at the same time never misrepresents him or his work. The author's task, moreover, has been thoroughly done. Practically all existing materials, public records, private letters, even oral tradition, have been drawn upon and welded together in a masterly historical and literary production. Nowhere can one find a better representation of the great movements with which Stevens identified himself, especially the prosecution of the war against the seceding states and the reconstruction after the war.

Stevens' long career is covered with a just proportion devoted to his private life, his business affairs and his public services. The reviewer finds only one episode of importance which is not satisfactorily described, namely Stevens' apparent indifference or even opposition to the appropriation necessary to complete the Alaskan purchase and his later support of this appropriation. At the time, there was some talk of scandal in connection with the completion of this affair and the whole transaction has never been satisfactorily explained. It may well be, however, that material is not available for an inside explanation, or that there is after all nothing really there to explain. With this possible exception we have in Professor Woodburn's book a complete account of Stevens' career as an Anti-Mason Pennsylvania politician, as an iron manufacturer and as leader of the national House of Representatives during the war and reconstruction.

Perhaps the greatest single contribution which Professor Woodburn makes to our understanding of Stevens and the public questions of his day is contained in the very interesting chapter upon "Ways

and Means in the War, the Greenback" and the two later chapters upon "The Greenbacker." Here Stevens' advocacy of the Legal Tender act, his attempt to make greenbacks legal tender for everything, even payments of interest on government bonds, and his later effort to continue and extend the issue of greenbacks are presented so sympathetically as, not indeed to convince us that he was right, but to enable us to understand clearly his side of the controversy and to give us respect for his views.

An authoritative statement of the facts upon which Stevens based his policy of reconstruction, and of the conditions which formed the background of this policy is very timely. With a due sense of the evils of Reconstruction as the Stevens faction carried it out, and of the growth of humanitarian and philanthropic sentiments since 1868, the reviewer finds himself unable to join in the unmitigated condemnation with which reconstruction is now usually visited. Stevens and the radical Republicans faced a situation in which it seemed more than likely that the results of the Civil War, except in the bare saving of the Union, would be lost. Southern negroes could have been kept in virtual slavery and the anti-war element in the Democratic party might have gotten control of the government, had there been weakness or halfway measures in the reconstruction of the South. A policy of unreserved generosity on the part of the North, an unconditional recognition of local governments in the South, and an immediate consigning of the war to oblivion were under the circumstances hardly to be expected. Failing in this, it was probably fortunate that a man like Stevens came to the front to drive firmly and relentlessly to the bitter end the policy of forcing upon the South the recognition of the new order of things.

The volume as a whole is worthy of its author, the dean of Indiana historians, and of the years spent in its preparation. It is a real pleasure to read a book, at whose close one feels that he has been face to face with a great historical subject treated in the best historical manner of our modern scientific school.

C. B. COLEMAN

George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by JAMES ALTON JAMES, Northwestern University. [Collections of the Illinois Historical Library, Vol. VIII, Vir-

ginia Series, Vol. III.] (Springfield, Ill.; Illinois Historical Library, 1912. Pp. clxvii, 715.)

INDIANA must acknowledge its great indebtedness to the Illinois State Historical Library and through it to Dr. James for this volume of collections. The documents here brought to the service of historians are as much a part of the history of Indiana as they are of that of Illinois. Over three hundred letters, diaries, reports and memoirs are included in the collection. As the text indicates, these documents have to do with George Rogers Clark's campaign in the West. The author has been liberal however in his selection and practically all contemporary documents dealing directly with the campaigns have been included. For instance there are documents by Abraham Hite, John Gabriel Jones, John Clark, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, William Harrod, Gabriel Cerré, H. Perrault, David Lyster, Alexander Macomb, R. B. Lernoult, Governor Hamilton, and a score of others. About seventy-five are by Clark himself.

While the central theme of all the papers is the conquest by Clark, not all the papers by any means relate to battles and marches. The whole life in the western country is illuminated, its conventions, its civil organization, its social and economical conditions.

It would not be interesting to the readers of this magazine to go into a discussion of the reliability of these sources. Few, if any, would have the means of judging the value of any criticism offered. In general it may be said that the reputation of Dr. James is sufficient to guarantee the highest accuracy in the work. He is familiar with the field, the characters and the science of history, and has had the hearty cooperation of scholars and librarians.

The first 167 pages are used by the author in a sketch of the period based on the documentary materials following. This arrangement has an advantage and also a serious disadvantage. This introduction is perhaps the best history in print of this particular period and a reading of it leaves little to be desired in the way of explanation of the documents following. On the other hand for one consulting a particular document it is rather difficult to get the bearings without going to the introduction and reading several pages. A good general index reduces this difficulty very materially. Moreover a note of explanation for each document would necessitate a

large amount of repetition. On the whole perhaps the author has selected the lesser of the difficulties.

There is a criticism that might be suggested on the general format of the book. It is too thick for its size of page and style of binding. The thickness of the 882 pages equals five-ninths the width of the type page. Unless one breaks the binding reading its small pages is like reading a bill on a telephone post. One must either keep his head nodding or else keep the book turning. This criticism is useless as the different volumes have to conform to the style and format of the others of the series.

Some of the controverted points in regard to the documents offered are discussed at the close of the volume. The *Memoir* of Colonel Clark has been criticised as that of a vain old man, prepared long after the events which it describes and after the natural keenness of his mind had been dulled by years of intemperance. In general the author dissents from this criticism and regards the *Memoir* as a valuable and trustworthy document. The volume should find a place in all Indiana libraries.

LOGAN ESAREY

"PAUL CUFFE and His Contribution to the American Colonization Society," is the title of a 32-page separate from Volume VI of the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*. The author is Henry Noble Sherwood, formerly professor of history in the University of Cincinnati. Paul Cuffe was a colored man who lived at Cuttyhunk, Massachusetts. He accumulated a considerable amount of property as a trader and sailor. This property he generously used in providing for the education of the American negro and his deportation to Africa. He took a small colony of negroes to Sierra Leone in 1813 and made several trips to America and England. In England he had an interview with the directors of the African institution and advised with them as to the best means to stop the slave trade. Cuffe was intimate with the principal men who organized the American Colonization Society and the example he gave in negro deportation was an encouragement to them to persevere in the objects of the society. His death in 1817 was the occasion of many tributes by the members of the newly formed society. Mr. Sherwood has recently published through Mississippi Valley Historical Association, "The Settlement of the John Randolph

Slaves in Ohio" and through Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, "The Deportation Movement in Ohio." These with other contributions will constitute his doctor's thesis in Indiana University:

THE *Attica Ledger Press*, December 12, 1913, has some interesting reminiscences by two of the pioneers of the town. The article is headed "First School in Attica."

History of Johnson County, Indiana. By ELBA L. BRANIGIN, A. M. (Indianapolis; B. F. Bowen & Co., Inc. Pp. 863.)

MR. BRANIGIN, the author of the above is a well-known attorney of Franklin, an alumnus of Franklin College. The author pitches right into his work and gives us 557 pages of history. The familiar discussion of Moundbuilders is missing as are also the well-worn biographies of the presidents of the United States that have done duty to pad so many country histories and from present indications are going to have to work over time again in the near future. Johnson county is not rich in historical material. It is just one of the plain substantial counties of Indiana. But the author has found plenty of valuable materials to make a good readable volume, materials well worthy of preservation. We frequently overlook this value in county histories. Not every county has been the seat of world-famed events but every county in Indiana has a number of churches, schools, lodges, cities or towns, newspapers and other results of social and neighborhood activities that have clustered around them many enduring memories and traditions. These are just as surely the materials of history as are marches, sieges, or congressional fiascoes. Mr. Branigin has done this. He has preserved a history of nearly, if not all these institutions. The diary of Samuel W. Van Nuys, a volunteer of Company F, Seventh Indiana, is a novelty in a county history and opens up a field not usually worked by local historians. Lists of county, township, city and town officers are given, election statistics and census materials bearing on the growth of the county.

The last 300 pages are taken up with biographies. These are usually written by the persons themselves and are thus autobiographies. While there are a great many wasted adjectives interspersed here and there the substance of each sketch is fact. A great deal of valuable material is thus preserved. Society is able to

preserve a biography of each of its members if it chooses so to do. The most enlightened states of the world are doing it or have done it. The most expensive way to do it is by county histories but that way is far better than none. A set of histories covering Indiana in 1825 and another in 1850, and another in 1875 would look good to a historian of Indiana now.

LOGAN ESAREY

THE *Year Book, Indiana Federation of Clubs* for 1913-1914 is an excellent resume of the work done by the organization during the year. A glance through it shows the wide range of activities carried on by the Federation. The State is organized by Congressional Districts and counties, each division with its appropriate officers. Work is done along the general lines of Library Extension, Public Health, Legislation, Charities, Household Economies, Civics, Conservation, Art, Music, Agricultural Education, History (especially of Indiana), Parent Teachers Clubs, Literature, Country Life, Education and some others. The annual convention was held at Indianapolis, October 21-24 inclusive, 1913. The president is Miss Vida Newsom, Columbus, Indiana. The *Indiana Magazine of History* wishes to cooperate with the Federation in all ways possible, and especially in the work on Indiana History.

WILLIAM K. BOYD, Professor of History in Trinity College, North Carolina, has recently published a *Syllabus of North Carolina History from 1584 to 1876*. The author divided his subject into ninety-three chapters each of which he outlined and furnished with a suitable bibliography. The syllabus makes a pamphlet of 100 pages. The last chapter is an outline for the study of local history. A similar pamphlet would be a valuable addition to the historical literature of Indiana. It is worth while to note in this connection that North Carolina has recently published thirty-one volumes of Colonial and State records.

DR. FREDRICK JACKSON TURNER, of Harvard, has prepared a *List of References on the History of the West* for the use of his classes. There are 129 pages of titles divided into fifty-two chapters. Under each chapter are listed those books treating especially of a certain field. Each chapter is divided into a general field and

special fields under which the references are appropriately listed. On the whole it is a well-selected and comprehensive list. Little attempt has been made to value the different books referred to, though a star has been used occasionally to designate what the author considers the best authority on the subject in question.

Why Indiana Needs a New Constitution is the title of a booklet issued by the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana. The contents of the booklet is an address by Prof. James Albert Woodburn before the second annual convention of the league held at Indianapolis, May 5, 1913. Prof. Woodburn favors a new constitutional convention that will give Indiana a new system of taxation, woman suffrage, the short ballot, initiative and the referendum. "The fundamental law should deal with broad general principles. A constitution of a million words dealing with a multitude of prohibitions and specifics borders upon the absurd in political science," says the author.

THE Department of Archeology of the Missouri Historical Society has recently issued the first of a series of bulletins. It is written by Gerhard Fowke and devoted to a description of the prehistoric objects in the Jefferson Memorial at St. Louis. It is an indexed pamphlet of fifty pages fully illustrated with fourteen full page plates.

DR. SOLON J. BUCK has issued as a separate his article from the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Historical Association*, 1912, on "The New England Element in Illinois Politics before 1833." Only a half dozen biographies are sketched. The chief interest of the paper is the indication it gives of the vast amount of work that must be done along that line before any valid generalizations can be drawn concerning the work or influence of the settlers from the various sections of the country from which the pioneers emigrated.

THE *Indiana University Alumni Quarterly* made its first appearance January, 1914. It is a quarterly of 124 pages standard magazine size, published by the Alumni Association of Indiana University. Dr. S. B. Harding of the Department of History, Indiana University, is editor and Dr. M. E. Haggerty of the Department

of Philosophy is business manager. An article by Judge David D. Banta, Dean of the School of Law at the time of his death in 1896, on the "History of Indiana University" is the leading article and sets a rapid pace for the contents of following numbers. Judge Banta had personally known many of the first students who attended the university and it is of these and their life he writes rather than the formal acts of Legislatures and trustees. The school life of the times is here pictured better than in Hall's *New Purchase*. A portrait of Judge Banta and a map of Indiana in 1818 by Dr. Shockley accompany the article. The second article is entitled "Bohemian Literary Men in the Age of Elizabeth" and was written by Prof. Frank Aydelotte of the English Department. Prof. Aydelotte takes us into these literary workshops and in truth one can hardly say that he is tempted to remain. The remainder of the *Quarterly* is taken up with university news, reviews of books and articles written by alumni, and news notes of the alumni arranged by classes. We expected a good magazine and our high expectations have been more than realized in the artistic appearance, the typographical excellence and in the subject matter of this first number. Surely no alumnus will fail to become a member of the Alumni Association and thus become a subscriber to and supporter of the *Alumni Quarterly*.

THE *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for January contains as its leading article a study of the Mormon migration across Iowa in 1845-6. The trails are laid down on a map and the camps marked. Each Mormon party had regard to the next party following and either planted a crop of corn, potatoes and garden truck at the camp or harvested one formerly planted so that the oncoming pilgrims would find a stock of provisions on hand at each "Camp of Israel." The "Miller Thompson Contest" for a seat in Congress is the subject of an article in the same number by Louis B. Schmidt of Iowa State College.

THE January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* opens with an article on "The Value and the Sale of the Missouri Slave," by Harrison A. Tresler of the University of Monatna. From tax books, reports of auction sales, from newspapers and from court records the author has collected sufficient data to show the extent of the trade and the range of prices paid for slaves. The study

shows that the price of slaves gradually rose from 1820 to 1860. In 1854 a first class man twenty-three years old sold for \$1,440. Boys, ten to twelve, brought around \$800. The official "block" from which slaves were sold in St. Louis was the east door of the court house.

GEORGE PENCE, field examiner of the State Board of Accounts, has recently discovered the first Thanksgiving Day Proclamation ever issued in Indiana. In reality the proclamation called for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer; just the opposite of our Thanksgiving. The latter is a thanksgiving for the bounties of the season. The former is observed to propitiate the overruling power so that good crops may be raised. The day of humiliation and prayer rightfully comes in the Spring—second Friday of April—while the Thanksgiving day celebration is in the fall when the farming season is over and the crops housed. The proclamation in the bold clear hand of our first governor is reproduced in *fac simile* in the *Indianapolis News*, November 21, 1913.

THE *Richmond Palladium* during the last part of November and the first part of December published the memoir of Henry Hoover. Mr. Hoover was one of the early pioneers of Wayne county. His diary and memoir is a valuable contribution to the early history of Wayne county.

B. J. GRISWOLD is preparing a series of articles on the History of Fort Wayne. These will appear weekly during the year in the *Fort Wayne Sentinel*. They will be illustrated by two hundred pen drawings of the famous characters and events of the three hundred years covered. The first of these articles appeared Saturday, January 3, 1914. The first article filled seven columns and contained four illustrations and eight maps. These are the rare maps of the early explorers and are taken largely from Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*. If the remaining articles maintain the high level of the first one Mr. Griswold will have done an excellent piece of work.

IN the January *History Teachers' Magazine*, Waldo L. Cook, of the *Springfield Republican*, discusses "The Press in Its Relation to History." His conclusion is that the more history an editor knows

the better for his readers. History is not only a warehouse for the editor but by its aid he is enabled to satisfy the demands of his readers that he know everything. A wide knowledge of history he concludes is the best guaranty of a wise policy on the part of the editor. In the same number Wilbur F. Gordy discusses the value of local history. He finds its chief value in the fact that it adjusts the pupils to the society in which they must later find their places.

THE *North Carolina Booklet*, for January, 1914, has an article by Major William A. Graham on "New Year's Shooting, an Ancient German Custom." It is only a few years since this custom was common in Indiana. The author attributes its origin to the Germans of Pennsylvania and Carolina. The preacher usually accompanied the crowd. It was not, he says, a carousal but a sober fraternal greeting. As it was practiced in Indiana, it was a surprise to the one "shot" who must then produce the good things to eat. In the Carolinas it seems the one visited was called out to hear the firing. The writer thinks the custom dates back to Feudal times when the tenants thus greeted the lord and enjoyed his good cheer.

THE congregation of the Second Presbyterian church of Indianapolis celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of their church November 20, 1913. Among the charter members who founded the church November 19, 1838, were Bethuel F. Morris, Daniel Yandes, John Ketcham and Catharine Merrill. Henry Ward Beecher was their first pastor, serving from 1839 to 1847. A bronze tablet bearing the names of the first pastor and those of the fifteen charter members was dedicated. An account of the celebration together with a brief history of the church is given in the *Indianapolis News*, November 21, 1913.

THE State Historical Society of Topeka, Kansas, has the Isaac McCoy manuscripts in thirty-eight bound volumes. That society has 40,115 books, 41,903 volumes of newspapers, 136,743 pamphlets, 137,304 archives and 44,628 manuscripts bearing on local history. This is quite a contrast to our own State Historical Society, now seventy-five years old and without so much as a home. It seems about time for us to wake up.

MISS ESTHER U. MCNITT has been appointed assistant in the department of Indiana History and Archives of the State Library. She is a graduate of Vassar, majoring in history. After two years teaching in the high school she entered Wisconsin and took a master's degree. Her home is in Logansport.

PROFESSOR HARLOW LINDLEY, Archivist in the State library, and Professor James A. Woodburn of Indiana University, attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Charleston. Professors Harding and Lindley of Indiana were appointed on the General Committee of the Association. Professor Woodburn has been a member of the Executive Committee of the same for several years.

C. J. TURNER

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No. 2

HOME LIFE IN EARLY INDIANA

by WILLIAM FREDERICK VOGEL, Superintendent of Schools, North
Vernon, Indiana

CHAPTER I. THE HOME

One of the most difficult things for either the writer or reader of history is to picture to his mind the living conditions of the age under consideration. In this day of ease and convenience one seldom can, and more rarely does recall, how the people of Indiana lived three quarters of a century ago. It requires some effort of imagination to visualize an ox team on a muddy road in the depth of an unbroken forest. To realize what a trip from Indianapolis to Cincinnati in an ox wagon was like ninety years ago requires more effort than most of us care to bestow.

Without this realization of the actual conditions of existence one cannot hope to attain a sympathetic appreciation of the history of any people. The following article is published in the belief that it will transport the reader back to pioneer times.—Ed.

LOCATION OF THE HOUSE

The location of the pioneer's home was a matter of no little concern. Good drainage and an abundant water supply were the chief considerations, as upon these health and life depended. If there was a creek in the neighborhood the settler usually pitched his cabin on a bit of ground bordering the stream, for in that way he secured a natural drainage. If no creek was near, he selected the highest and driest hill or knoll on his purchase, provided of course that it contained a spring of running water. Springs were more numerous then than at present. The thick, leafy carpet of

the woods acted as a kind of sponge which absorbed the rain as it fell and later gave it up gradually to feed the numerous springs and streams, very many of which flowed all summer long. Around the cabin in all directions as far as the eye could see (until clearings had been made) were great green trees, lifting their tall, stately columns to the sky. Their thick heavy foliage shut out the sunlight from the ground until frost laid bare the boughs. Underneath in many places was a dense thicket of spice wood, hazel-bushes, briars, young saplings, and other underbrush and, lying here and there, were fallen tree trunks rotting into soil.

THE HALF-FACED CAMP

Many of the early settlers lived for a few months, and some of the less enterprising even for a few years, in what was then called a half-faced camp.¹ This temporary home was hastily constructed to afford shelter to the family while they were engaged in the more necessary work of preparing the ground and planting and tending the first crop of Indian corn. The structure was made by placing two large strong forks in the ground at a proper distance from a fallen tree to make a twelve or fourteen foot pen. Next a pole was placed from fork to fork, and other poles from that one to the log as closely as desired. Over these a thick layer of brush was piled to serve as a roof. The two sides were filled with logs which were rolled up. The fourth side, usually facing the south, was left open. During cold weather a great fire was made at this open end, and the family slept with their feet toward it, their heads toward the fallen tree. Skins also were hung at this opening to keep out the rain and the cold; often too the sides were covered and lined inside with skins of animals. This was a crude shelter but it served the settler until he had time and means to construct a better home. Abraham Lincoln's Spencer county home was one of these half-faced camps.

CABIN OF THE EARLIER PERIOD

The pioneer of the earlier period with his pressing needs was not able to construct an elaborate cabin. Later, when he had accumulated some wealth, when his clearing had been extended and

¹ William A. Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 161.

he had a stock of domestic animals and a supply of grain and food, he would turn his attention to a more commodious dwelling. This fact produced two stages in pioneer home building.

The cabins of the early period were rough and crude. The majority of the first settlers were young men just married, who had come boldly into the western wilderness with their wives and a little personal property. When they had found a suitable home-sight the cabin was constructed forthwith. After the logs had been cut, the settler and his friends dragged them together and put them into a clumsy, box-like, one-room structure. The roof was made of clap-boards rived from white oak, and the boards were held in place by weight poles. Cracks between the logs were filled with pieces of timber wedged in and the whole daubed over with mud. A hole the proper size of a door was cut in the side, and often the shutter was a bear skin. The fireplace and the chimney were built on the outside at the end of the cabin. An opening of the proper width was cut through three or four logs, then a three sided crib was built up joining the building. The inside of this crib was lined with layer upon layer of mud to make it solid and prevent any danger of fire. The floor of the building was easily constructed—it was nothing more than mother earth. In this crude shelter the early settler, his wife and his children, lived and laid the foundation for a great estate.²

Baynard Hall in his *New Purchase* gives a terse description of one of those primitive cabins.² "It was, in truth, a barbarous rectangle of unhewed and unbarked logs, and bound together by a gigantic devetailing called notching. The roof was thick, rickety shingles, called clap-boards; which, when clapped on were held down by longitudinal poles kept apart by shorter pieces placed between them perpendicularly. The interstices of the log walls were 'chinked,' the 'chinking' being large chips and small slabs, dipping like strata of rocks in geology, and then on the 'chinking' was 'daubing,' viz., a sufficient quantity of yellow clay ferociously splashed in soft by the hand of the architect, and then left to harden at its leisure." The chimney was outside the house and a short distance from it. It was built of logs reposing upon one another at their corners and topped off with flag stones. It was moreover daubed, and so admirably as to look like a mud stack.

² Hall, *The New Purchase*, I, 60.

Banta, *History of Johnson County*, p. 245 ff.

HOUSE OF THE LATER PERIOD

After the settler had become established, and the country had been more extensively settled, more commodious homes² were built. A suitable location having been obtained, the work of construction progressed rapidly. Various woods were used—sugartree, maple, beech, ash, poplar, and hickory. Trees of uniform size were selected, cut into logs of the desired length, usually twelve to fifteen feet, and hauled to the chosen spot. On a day appointed, the available neighbors assembled for the "house raising" when fun and pleasures were mingled with the hard labor; in fact such occasions were usually regarded as holidays. Each log was saddled and notched so that it would fit down as close as possible. The foundation logs were carefully placed in a level position, and upon them the puncheon floor was laid. The puncheons were large slabs of hard wood, sometimes three or four inches thick, and five or six feet long. They were smoothed on the upper side with an adz, so that they usually made a smooth, level floor. The logs of the wall were laid on and fitted together as closely as possible to lessen the size of the cracks and strengthen the structure. The chinks, or places between the logs were filled with sticks split to fit the crevices as snugly as possible, and then were plastered over with tough clay or mortar. This shut out the weather effectually. The rude logs often put out leaves and the cabin sometimes presented the appearance of a green bower. The usual height of the building was seven or eight feet. The gables were formed by the shortening of the logs gradually at each end of the building as the top approached. A roof was made by laying stout poles suitable distances apart, generally two and a half feet, from gable to gable. On these poles the clap-boards were laid, and were fastened down by weight poles which were held in place by "knees," pieces of wood fitting between the poles near the ends. The fireplace was formed either by leaving a place in the wall or by cutting an opening after the walls were in position. From this opening a three-sided enclosure of small split logs was built outward. Inside this enclosure was a similar temporary one, built with a space of twelve to fifteen inches between

² Hall, *The New Purchase*, I, 60.
Levering, *Historic Indiana*, p. 64.
Turpie, *Sketches of My Own Times*, p. 2.
Indiana Magazine of History, III, p. 128 ff.
Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 64.

the two sets of walls; and into this space moist clay was firmly pounded and left to dry. When the false wall was removed or burned away, the clay formed the protecting back for the fire place, extending four or five feet up. Upon and above this was built the chimney, either of stone or sticks. Rived sticks heavily plastered with mud were the usual materials. The chimney was gradually tapered to the proper size for securing a good draft, and then built up until it was higher than the roof. The hearth and the bottom of the fire place were made by filling in the triangular crib with wet clay to the level of the cabin floor. This was pounded with a maul until hard and firm, then wet with water and scraped with a wooden scraper.

A few log cabins and more often, the early taverns, were built two stories high, but this was not usual.

The fire places were from five to ten feet wide and occupied almost one entire end of the house.³ They were often large enough to receive firewood six or eight feet long, and sometimes the back log was as large as a sawlog. There was a reason for this, for the more quickly the pioneer could burn up the wood on his land, the more quickly he could have it cleared and ready for cultivation. While the cabin was being built openings for the windows and doors were sawed in the walls. Slabs fastened to the ends of these logs by wooden pins served as frames for the opening. At a later period glass was sometimes used for the windows, but the usual material was greased paper; even greased deerskin was sometimes used. The door, made of thick rived boards of the proper length across which heavy battens were pinned was hung on great wooden hinges. Sometimes it was made of clapboards pinned to two or three wooden bars. A heavy wooden latch was attached to the door. This latch could be raised from the outside by the proverbial latch string, which passed through a hole, and hung on the outside. At night the string was drawn in for security, but for neighbors and friends the latch string was always on the outside. No people in the world were more generous, free hearted, and hospitable than the early pioneers; and their hospitality and good cheer had with it a flavor that can not be copied.

Most cabins contained a loft or attic story which was reached by a rude ladder at the corner. This cubby hole furnished a sleeping quarters for the boys of the family.

³ Banta, *History of Johnson County*, p. 246.

Double log cabins were frequently built, especially in the older and more prosperous communities.⁴ It was really a combination of two cabins. The space between the two was known as the entry and was wide and roomy. The entry was roofed with clapboards, and its floor formed of clay and gravel beaten down hard and smooth. Since it was open at both ends one could find there, even on the hottest day, a cool, refreshing draft of air. Such cabins were a long step in advance of the little one room structure of the early day, so far as comfort and convenience were concerned, and, no doubt, many a pioneer house wife has looked with pardonable pride upon her splendid mansion, as a house of two rooms was considered particularly fine.

The first cabins were constructed entirely without the use of nails or any scrap of iron.⁴ Perhaps the axe was the only tool used. But after the first years glass, nails, and other imported materials were commonly used, and, with the establishment of saw mills, sawed boards took the place of hewed logs. These later cabins, in comparison with the earlier ones, presented a very neat appearance with their smooth, even walls daubed with mortar, and their floors, frames and finishing of yellow poplar.

FURNITURE AND FIREPLACE EQUIPMENT

If the house of the pioneer was rough and crude, its furniture was in keeping with it. Everything was homemade, direct from the forest. Beds were made by utilizing one corner of the room. Holes were bored into two logs of the wall at the proper height from the floor, and into them sticks were driven horizontally and at right angles, the ends of the sticks being supported by an upright stake driven into the floor. Sometimes cracks in the walls obviated the necessity of boring holes. Upon the framework was woven a bottom of withes, bark or deer-skin thongs to support the bedding, crude framework often made of brush covered with skins of animals.⁵ On this bed was generally found the proverbial three-figured "coverlid" of Carolina and Tennessee housewives. Any deficiency in bed clothing was supplied by bear and deer skins.⁶

⁴ Turpie, *Sketches of My Own Times*, pp. 9-10.

Indiana Magazine of History, III, 127.

⁵ *Indiana Magazine of History*, III, 128.

⁶ Banta, *History of Johnson County*, p. 247.

Guests were usually given this bed, while the family provided for themselves in another corner of the room, or in the loft. When many guests were on hand at once all slept in the center of the floor. When bedtime came the men were requested to step out of doors while the women spread out a broad bed upon the mid-floor and put themselves to bed. Then the men were called in. The sleepers were generally so crowded that they had to sleep "spoon fashion," and it was necessary for all to turn together. When anyone wished to turn over he would say "spoon" and the whole company would turn at once.

Three legged stools often took the place of chairs. Some of the more prosperous settlers possessed hickory chairs with splint bottoms, but stools and benches rived out of logs ordinarily served for seats, especially at the table. Even the back log of the fireplace served as a seat. Tables were often made in the same way as the beds—in a corner of the room. For tops they had thick boards made smooth with an axe. Over the cabin door was the gun rack, made usually by fastening prongs of deer antlers into augur holes, or simply of forked cleats. On this the trusty rifle and powder horn rested. Hooks on which to hang clothes and other articles were fashioned from the forked or crooked branches of trees.

Above the fireplace was a shelf called the mantel which was often colored deep blue with dye of indigo. On this stood a candlestick or lamp, some table ware, possibly an old clock, and perhaps a few books. Often in the summer two or three crocks planted with morning glories were placed on the shelf, and when the vines fell downward, their leaves and blossoms hid the old fireplace as effectually as a curtain would have concealed it.

In the fire place was an old fashioned crane, sometimes of wood, sometimes of iron, and on this pots were hung for cooking. Forked sticks with pins stuck into the longer arms made pot hooks, which were caught over a pole or "cross tree" that was fixed in the fireplace a safe distance above the fire, the pots being hung on the pins. An improvement on this was the "trammel hook" formed of flat bar iron hooked at the end, while at the other, an adjustable hook could be raised or lowered as desired and secured by means of an iron pin inserted in holes that were drilled along the bar. With the advent of the brick chimneys, of course came the swinging

iron cranes. These, set in iron eyes embedded in the masonry, could be turned freely, the long arms carrying the pots out over the hearth when desired.

Each of the four corners of the one-room houses was usually occupied by some essential article of furniture. In one corner stood the large bed for the old folks, with a trundle bed under it for the children; in another, the heavy table, generally the only one in the house; in another the rough cupboard which contained the tableware, consisting of a few cups, saucers and plates standing on edge against the back to make the best display possible; in the fourth, the old fashioned spinning wheel, whose continual hum made music for the busy family.

It was good to live in one of these simple homes. If the house itself was limited in its capacity, the hearts of the occupants were large and kindly. The following quotation fitly describes them. "These simple cabins were inhabited by a kind and true hearted people. They were strangers to mock modesty, and the traveller, seeking lodging for the night, or desirous of spending a few days in the community, if willing to accept the rude offering was always welcome. As to how they were disposed of at night the reader cannot easily imagine; for, as described a single room was made to answer for kitchen, dining-room, bedroom, sitting-room and parlor, and many families consisted of six or eight members."⁷

The early pioneer could not have remained very long if it had not been for the abundance of game of all kinds in the forest. Often, for weeks at a time, they had no other food than deer, bear and wild turkey meat. With this they frequently used a substitute for bread of roasted acorns, pounding the mixture into a meal, of which they made ash cakes. This was very coarse fare, but the pioneer families subsisted very well on such diet until they could raise a patch of corn. Hard labor furnished ravenous appetites, and dyspepsia and other stomach troubles were unknown.

METHOD OF COOKING

One is almost surprised at the various methods of cooking that were used.⁸ Cooking stoves did not come into use until 1820, and even as late as 1835 a large majority of the families prepared their

⁷ Banta, *History of Johnson County*, p. 246.

⁸ Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 323.

foods in the old fashioned way. In the early days cooking utensils were not plentiful. The settlers came a long way over mountains from the seaboard States, in rough wagons and carts, on horseback, or even on foot. Consequently it was difficult to bring many dishes or utensils. Many of the poorer immigrants had but a single skillet in their cabins. An old lady relates that when she was a grown woman there was not more than one vessel for cooking in any home in the neighborhood and that one was nearly always a skillet with a lid. Some made with their own hands rough pots of clay, which served until they could get iron ones. These crude pots were not glazed, so that when meat was cooked the grease came through the pores, and the outside of the pot was continually afire. In the more comfortable homes the cooking was done in large kettles hung with pothooks from an iron crane over the great fire in the fireplace. Meat was cooked in a long handled frying pan, which was held over the blaze by hand or set down upon coals drawn out upon the hearth.

This pan was also used for baking pancakes, sometimes called "flap-jacks," and bread, too, was frequently made on it. Johnny cake was baked on a board made for this purpose, about ten inches wide and fifteen inches long and rounding at the top. The thick corn dough was placed on the board which was set against a chunk of wood near the fire. After one side had been baked to a nice brown, the other side was treated in the same way. The resulting cake was often delicious. If a johnny-cake board was not at hand a hoe, without a handle, was cleaned and greased with bear's oil. The dough was baked on this metal surface and was called a hoe-cake. If neither a johnny-cake board nor a hoe was to be had, the dough was wrapped in cabbage leaves or fresh cornshucks, laid in a clean place on the hearth, and covered with live embers, which thoroughly baked it. This was called an ash cake. A better article for baking was a covered skillet called a "spider."⁹ This utensil stood upon feet and was heated over the hearth with hickory coals piled over and under it; no flame was suffered to blaze around the skillet. The more prosperous families used the Dutch oven for baking, especially in the summer time. This was made of bricks and mortar, or small boulders, or even tough clay, wrought and beaten into shape and burned by slow fires built inside. It was usually set upon a wooden platform away from the house because

⁹ Levering, *Historic Indiana*, p. 68.

of the danger of fires, and was protected by a shed. In shape it appeared much like a round dome, resembling considerably the old-time bee-hive. After the oven was thoroughly heated the fire was raked out and the bread and pies set in upon the floor, the body of the oven retaining enough heat to do the cooking.

ARTICLES OF FOOD

The chief articles of diet in the early days were cornbread and hominy; venison, wild turkey, squirrel, and other wild game; duck and chicken; honey, beans, pumpkin, (dried for more than half the year,) potatoes, and other vegetables. In the early times, sweets, pastries, and biscuits were luxuries, which were served out only on Sundays. A travelling circuit judge described a limited fare: "Three articles of diet, only, appeared on the plain walnut table, corn dodgers, boiled squirrel, and sassafras tea."¹⁰ But the later pioneer had many delicacies. Potpie, jellies, pies, custards, pound cakes, and preserves were not strange to his palate, in addition to the more substantial foods. On Sundays and feast-days his table fairly groaned with good things.

Cornmeal was the staple article of sustenance. When the corn was still green they grated the pulp for hoecakes. A grater was made from a piece of tin, often taken from an old worn out tin bucket. After many holes had been punched through, it was nailed on boards by the edges. The soft corn was rubbed on the rough side of this grater, the meal passing through the perforations and falling into a pan. Hominy corn was pounded in a hominy block, formed by cutting or burning a hole in a stump. A pole twenty or thirty feet long was fixed in an upright fork so that it could be worked like a well sweep. To one end, a large heavy maul was attached by means of which the corn was pounded. A little later a small hand-mill made of two small round stones came into use. Four bushels of corn could be ground in one day by the use of this mill, and at that time this was considered a great advance in the milling industry.¹¹ But when the country became more settled men embarked in the milling business. The little water mills along

¹⁰ O. H. Smith, *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, p. 169.

¹¹ Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 196 ff.

the stream did a good business. Mills being so great a public necessity, they were permitted to be located upon any person's land where the miller thought the site desirable.¹²

Ordinarily there was no trouble in getting the grist and bringing it home. But twice a year, during the spring floods or fall droughts, the streams were either too low or too high for grinding. At such times the neighbors borrowed meal from each other until the last sack was gone. Finally the old block was brought from its cover to furnish hominy. In the late summer the people also resorted to succotash. With the temporary supplies the settler lived until the mill wheels turned again.

The pioneer was a thrifty soul. His larder was always stocked for the winter. Pumpkin was dried in large quantities, besides fruits of all kinds. He excelled in curing meats. The ashes of hickory bark (shellbark) were carefully gathered up and stored away in a dry place. At the hog killing season the choicest hams were selected, and, having been salted, smoked, and dried, they were laid aside in these white, feathery hickory ashes where they remained until March or April, or sometimes later, when they were brought out for table use. Such choice hams were known as "hickory" hams and had a pleasant odor and flavor when served at the table. Genuine hickory hams were seldom seen in the market however; they were reserved for home consumption.¹³ Great pits of luscious apples furnished delightful food for the long, cold winter evenings, and barrels of cider were at hand to add good cheer.

HOMEMADE UTENSILS

With his axe the early settler found little difficulty in manufacturing the rude utensils which he needed about the home. Trays, large and small, were made from soft poplar, buckeye and basswood. Trenchers and bowls for the kitchen use were hewn from sections of maple logs, and then burned or scraped smooth. Gourds of every shape and size were raised. Being of many shapes and sizes, they were used when scraped out and cleaned, for a variety of purposes.¹⁴ The gourd hung as a dipper beside the spring or well and was a companion to the cider barrel and whiskey

¹² Banta, *History of Johnson County*, p. 257.

Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 194-196.

¹³ Turple, *Sketches of My Own Times*, p. 17.

¹⁴ *Indiana Magazine of History*, III, 120.

jug. It was used at the table, at the lye kettle, at the sugar camp—for soup, soap or sap. A large one split in half made a wash pan or milk pan. A small one was often used by the grandmother as a form over which to darn socks. The small boy carried his bait in one when he went fishing, and the baby used another for a rattle. The churn was sometimes a mere trough and paddle. A curious, clumsy wooden machine for kneading bread was called a dough break. Water was frequently carried by a yoke that fitted across the shoulders with a thong hanging from each end by which two buckets of water could be carried, leaving the hands free to carry two more if necessary.

LIGHTING OF THE HOUSE

The home was lighted by the blaze of the great fireplace, and by tallow candles. Candle making, indeed, became an art, and candle moulds with balls of cotton wicking could be seen in every house. A good lamp was modeled from clay in the form of a cup which was burned hard. When this was filled with bear's oil and fitted with a cotton wick, it gave a very good light. The cotton too, was grown in the dooryard.

Matches in the early days were unknown, so the matter of starting fires was a serious one. Often, when a settler was unfortunate enough to let his fire die out in the fireplace, he sent to his nearest neighbor to borrow coals to rekindle it. Usually a blaze was kindled by means of punk.¹⁵ It was a peculiar, dry, spongy wood found in the knots on the trunks of the trees and also in larger branches. Hickory trees especially furnished excellent punk. But the substance was not plentiful, and was rather valuable. It was absolutely necessary to keep it dry; the least dampness rendered it useless. To start a fire a small bit of punk was held close to a flint which, when struck with a piece of steel, let fall a shower of sparks upon it. One of these sparks beginning to burn, the punk was surrounded with dry tow or leaves and the mass fanned into a blaze. Then with dry kindling-wood a good fire was built.

THE PROBLEM OF CLOTHING

The dress of the early settlers was entirely homemade, but it was suitable for the life which he led. They paid little attention

¹⁵ Maurice Thompson. *Stories of Indiana*, p. 86.

to style but service and durability were considerations of prime importance. The men always wore a substantial hunting shirt made of blue linsey or course buckskin. It was a loose frock coat reaching below the middle of the thighs. The sleeves were large and the front part of the garment was made very full so that it lapped over more than a foot when it was belted. To it was attached a large, full cape, much like those worn by the Union Cavalry of the Civil War. In the spacious bosom of this garment the hunter could very conveniently carry articles he needed. The belt was frequently sewed to the shirt which was usually ornamented by a heavy fringe, sometimes of red or gray colors, around the bottom and down the shoulder seams. This disposition to adorn the garment was borrowed from the Indians. A well-tanned and well-made suit of buckskin gave the wearer a rather neat and jaunty appearance with a touch of aboriginal elegance. Occasionally a lover of primitive finery had his shirt and moccasins ornamented with beads and brightly colored porcupine quills, but those intended for the chase or for scouting were of a dull color to attract as little attention as possible. An undershirt or vest was usually made of striped linsey. Trousers of buckskin, linsey, or course blue cloth were made very close fitting, and over them the pioneer wore a pair of buckskin leggings fringed down the outside seams like those of the Indians. Moccasins of deerskin or shoepacks of tanned leather provided a comfortable footwear. Some wore shoes, but this was not common in the earlier period. In fact in the summer everybody, male and female, old and young, went barefooted. For headdress the men usually wore a coonskin cap. In summer they made hats from wild oat straw or from flags that grew in the ponds. Even the inside bark of the mulberry roots was cleaned and worked into light durable hats for summer wear. Gloves with the fur on one side were made from the skins of small animals. Buffalo overcoats were worn in extremely cold weather.

Deerskin was used widely for clothing, not only because it was available, but because it resisted nettles, briars, bites of snakes, and was an excellent protection from the cold. But it had its drawbacks.¹⁶ When wet, as it often was, the garment would shrink to a third of its usual size and become stiff and unwieldy. So, as soon as the pioneer could protect a flock of sheep from the wolves he

¹⁶ Levering, *Historic Indiana*, p. 69.

had woolen clothing. In dry weather deerskin moccasins were excellent footwear, but in soft snow or rain they were not at all comfortable.

Women did not have as elaborate costumes as men but they dressed to suit their work.¹⁷ The frock and habit were the chief outer garments, the shirt and body in both being attached to each other, making one garment. Often a shirt or petticoat was worn over some sort of dress made much like a modern lady's night-gown. In cold weather a waist or jacket was added to the skirt. The fastenings were hooks and eyes or ordinary brass pins for the habit, and buttons for the frocks which fastened at the back. Like the men the women went barefooted in summer and wore moccasins or shoe packs in winter. They had flannel shawls of various colors and often with a fringe sewed all around. In summer they wore on their heads a simple sun bonnet, in winter a thick quilted hood. Elderly women always wore caps, night and day.¹⁸ For handkerchiefs they had small, homemade squares of white cotton cloth of their own spinning and weaving. Their gloves were made from the best squirrels' skins which were as soft as the best kid and lasted a long time.

The small child was provided with a tow shirt that hung straight from the shoulders to the heels. This was thought to be sufficient for summer weather. Both boys and girls dressed as little men and women and were made to appear old and sedate before their time. When the boys were ready for pantaloons they had them full length like their fathers, and they were made several sizes too large, for the youngster was expected to grow to fit them or even outgrow them before they were worn out.

When larger the boy wore a "Sunday-go-to-meeting" suit made of brown and blue jeans, better woven and more carefully made than his earlier clothes. The trousers which folded over his cowhide boots and bagged at the knees and seat, were big enough in girth for two boys. The coat hung loose at the shoulders and elbows and the sleeves were turned up at the wrists. A round-cornered stiff-brimmed hat completed the picture of discomfort. He was never at ease except in his well worn togs.

In 1820 a change in dress began to take place and by 1830 the pioneer costumes were disappearing.¹⁹ The hunting shirt had

¹⁷ *Indiana Magazine of History* II., 185.

¹⁸ Cockrum, *A Pioneer History*, p. 192.

¹⁹ Banta, *History of Johnson County*, p. 251.

given way to the cloth coat; the coonskin cap with tail dangling down behind had been cast aside for the wool or fur hats; boots and shoes had supplanted deerskin moccasins. The change in women's dress was equally marked. The old linsey-woolsey frocks had given place to gowns of calico or silk; their feet were encased with shoes instead of moccasins; and in place of the sun-bonnet and quilted hood they wore hats of straw or cloth, and even leghorns were seen occasionally.

Men of the better class wore a swallow-tailed coat of broad-cloth with trousers and vest to match. The coat was double-breasted and glittered with a row of brass buttons which imparted a certain dignity and grandeur to the gentleman of the old school. The whole suit was topped off with a great bell crowned beaver hat. A black silk stock over stiff buckram encircled his neck and held up his chin in painful stateliness. In cold weather they also wore a stylish cloak or topcoat with, or without a cape.

The dress of the women of the later period was a reflection of the rule of fashion which had begun. "They wore stiff brocades, shining taffetas, and peau de soie of quaint designs."²⁰ Beautiful furs were extensively worn because pelts were plentiful and cheap. Skirts were flounced and worn over a large hoop which made the wearer resemble a miniature balloon. Enormous muffs, measuring from eighteen to twenty-two inches in length, and bonnets supporting a garden of flowers decked the belles of the towns. In the evening the girls wore flowers in their hair and around the low neck and skirts of their gowns, and curls were as effective at that time as they are today, upon the opposite sex. Men and women travelled everywhere in their showy costumes, on the stage coach, the steamboat, and in town.

The clothing of the pioneers was made from various materials. Of course, at first they used the skins of animals from necessity. Buckskin was the usual material. But as the country became more thickly settled and sheep could be raised, wool was largely used. They grew flax, and even tried to raise cotton, but it could not be successfully cultivated. When the flax crop failed they went to the rich creek bottoms where nettles grew in abundance and gathered loads of the stalks from which they made a coarse cloth. Shirts, trousers, towels, bed ticks, were all made of the cloth manufac-

²⁰ Levering, *Historic Indiana*, p. 276.

tured from these nettles.²¹ Flax was an important product for, until cotton came into general use, it formed the chain of most fabrics woven. The women wore linsey-woolsey (the warp of flax and the woof of wool) for winter and tow linen for summer. They worked continually preparing clothing for the family. Spinning, weaving, knitting for the household were eternal tasks. As the children grew older they relieved the mother of a great deal of the hard toil, but even then she had much to do. Spinning was one of the most arduous duties. There was a big wheel for spinning yarn and a little wheel for spinning flax. The hum of the busy wheels furnished music for the family. A loom was just as necessary as a spinning wheel, but as they were large and cumbersome several families owned and used one in common. A single machine had a capacity for the needs of several families. It occupied so much space in the cabin that it was a serious incumbrance; hence a period was set aside for the family weaving, after which the loom was taken apart and stowed away. Some families had separate loom rooms. These rude machines did excellent work producing blankets, jeans, coverlets, and curtains of excellent material and workmanship. A great degree of artistic art and skill was exhibited in dyeing the yarns and weaving the complicated figures. Wool was carded by hand-cards and made into rolls which were spun on the big wheel. Even at this day we still find in the houses of the old settlers some of these once used machines, especially spinning wheels.

Mothers and daughters usually made and designed their own clothing as well as prepared and designed the cloth. But a sewing woman who went from house to house in the neighborhood soon made her appearance.²² Having had many years experience in cutting, fitting, and handling the same materials, she could readily do neat work and was always in demand.

The dye stuffs used most were the hulls of walnuts and the inner bark of certain trees.²³ In some parts the dark brown of the black walnut prevailed, in others the tawney tints of the white walnut were liked best. The most aristocratic color was indigo with which many Sunday suits and garments for special occasions were dyed. Prepared indigo could be purchased at the village stores, but many settlers grew their own plants and manufactured the

²¹ *Indiana Magazine of History*, VI., 78., also Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 193.

²² Turple, *Sketches of My Own Times*, p. 28.

²³ *Indiana Magazine of History*, III., p. 183.

dye. Other dyes were made from madder and copperas or maple bark and copperas. These colors were made to alternate with the blues and browns in striping and checking linseys. Stockings were often dyed after the weaving, but the usual way was to dye them in the yarn.

Early settlers tanned their own leather.²⁴ Skins that had been preserved and dried were put into a vat of strong lye which loosened the hair so that it could be easily removed. Then they were placed in another vat containing a liquid made from black-oak bark, where they were allowed to remain for several months. When taken out and scraped and softened with bear's oil, they became very soft and pliable. From this homemade leather the settler made his buckskin suit and later his boots, shoes, and harness. Usually each man was his own shoemaker, but sometimes, especially in the later period, a travelling shoemaker went from house to house to make or to mend shoes.

CHAPTER II. OCCUPATIONS.

WILD GAME AND HUNTING

The pioneers who first came to Indiana could not have subsisted except for the abundance of wild game. Many came almost empty-handed and others had food and supply only for a limited period; not enough to last until the maturing of the first crop. For weeks at a time they had no other food than bear, deer, or wild turkey meat, on which they lived until they could raise a patch of corn.

So the pioneers went a-hunting. The woods and prairies were full of bear, deer, buffaloes, pheasants, and wild turkeys, and the streams and watercourses abounded with wild ducks and geese. Wild pigeons were so numerous that often the sky was darkened by their passage. A man could stand on his door step and shoot deer without difficulty. They resorted to the "licks" in great numbers all through the warm seasons of the year and the veriest tenderfoot could not fail to bring home a supply of venison. At Collier's Lick in Brown county a man shot thirteen in one morning. Another knocked one in the head with an axe as it attempted to run past him while he was splitting rails.²⁵ In early spring droves

²⁴ Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 194.

²⁵ *History of Johnson County*, p. 344.

of them wandered into the wheat fields, but, as they were too poor for food the farmers drove them away with hickory rattles. Fire hunting was a favorite method of killing deer. In his light canoe, with a pine knot or torch flaming from the bow, the hunter would float down the stream. When a deer came down to the waters edge to drink, the torch would "shine his eyes," and, dazzled by the brightness he would stand motionless, gazing at the light, while the rifle of the boatman laid him low. White men learned from the Indians how to jerk venison. A hunk of venison hung from the rafters of almost every cabin and it was the custom of visitors to slice off a piece to chew during the conversation. Hunting was a trying labor. When the streams were overflowed the hunter had to wade all day through the wet; and in winter when heavy snows covered the ground it was difficult to follow the game. An idea of the abundance of game in the early day may be gained from a list of the fur bearing animals that were hunted for their pelts. Bears, wolves, deer, buffaloes, lynxes, wildcats, opossums, beavers, otters, martens, minks, raccoons, and muskrats abounded. Wolves were so numerous that the State encouraged their extermination by offering a bounty for their scalps. In many localities they had to be exterminated before sheep and pigs could be raised. They often attacked larger animals and even men. A Warrick county farmer who turned his horse out to graze one night found only the bones the next morning.²⁶ Wolf hunts in which hundreds of men and dogs engaged, were organized and in this way, with the stimulation of bounty, they were driven from the settled communities. Squirrels were so numerous that they threatened to destroy the ripening corn altogether. In the summer of 1834 they were especially troublesome. The woods and prairies swarmed with them. Men and boys destroyed hundreds with clubs, but in spite of all their efforts they threatened to destroy the corn crop.²⁷ Wolves killed the sheep; foxes killed the lambs and pigs; squirrels and raccoons ate the green corn; and even the turtles in the pond were expert at catching the young geese and ducks. With so many enemies the pioneer had his hands full indeed.

All guns in early days were single barreled, muzzle-loading, clumsy weapons with flint locks. To load a rifle, one had first to measure a charge of powder by pouring it out of the horn into the

²⁶ Cookrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 499.

²⁷ Sanford C. Cox, *Early Settlement of the Wabash Valley*, p. 153.

charger; after this was emptied into the barrel, a patching of cloth or thin deerskin was placed over the muzzle; upon this a bullet was placed and pressed in as hard as possible. Next the cloth or deerskin was clipped off as close as possible to the bullet; then the whole was rammed down to the bottom of the barrel upon the powder; after priming the pan and setting the trigger the gun was ready to fire. Sometimes the flint failed and the lock had to be fired several times before the gun was discharged. If the powder got damp no discharge was possible. In later years percussion caps were introduced to the great relief of the hunter.

BEE HUNTING

In addition to hunting animals the pioneer was fond of bee hunting. He located a bee tree by watching a bee, which he had sprinkled with flour and kept prisoner for some time, find its way home again. Or he prepared a sweet-bait which he placed in a trough on a stump. When the insect had gathered its load of sweets it flew in a "bee line" for its home. By carefully watching the direction taken, the backwoodsman could locate the tree, which he then marked. A bee hunter's mark was as sacredly respected as the mark of an owner of horses and cattle. In September the party cut down the tree and gathered the shining honey. As several gallons were often found in a single tree the settlers kept themselves supplied the year around. In some places there were not enough hollow trees for the bee colonies, so they occupied crevices in the rocks and holes in the ground.²⁸

CLEARING THE FOREST

The new settler found a primeval wilderness. In every direction a great forest of oak, poplar, walnut, beech, gum, ash, and a hundred other varieties of trees stretched over the hills and valleys, and in its shade in most places grew a thicket of spicewood, hazel, greenbriars, young saplings, and other underbrush. In these thick woods the pioneer had to chop and grub a little field where he might locate a home and raise a little crop. In some sections all trees up to eighteen inches in diameter were felled; all over that size were deadened, either by girdling with the axe or burning

²⁸ Banta, *History of Johnson County*, p. 263.

them about the roots. The deadened trees fell year after year, so that several clearings were necessary to rid the field of the forest. The trees which he chopped down were cut in convenient lengths for rolling. On an appointed day the neighbors met for a log-rolling at which time they heaped up the scattered logs for burning. Timber which today would be worth twice as much as the value of the land was consigned to the fire to secure a little clearing of five or six acres. On one nine acre tract the logs laid so thick that a man could have walked all over the field without touching the ground. Farmers rolled logs a large number of days every year, sometimes as many as twenty or thirty. "John Carson, as late as 1840, rolled logs twenty-two days in one year, and Samuel Harriot, thirty-six days, but he was a politician." But the pioneer farmer was not always able to roll his logs in time for planting and tilling. Not infrequently he cultivated a crop among the fallen logs, tilling the soil altogether with the hoe. Some felled the trees in windrows and planted the crop in the open spaces.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

The pioneer farm was a very independent institution, a little world of its own. Everything of daily use was made or substituted from its products, except salt. Food, clothing, agricultural implements, almost everything that came into daily life were the products of the community.

All the modern domestic animals, horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and domesticated fowls were raised. The cows and horses, however, were of very inferior size due to the want of proper care in winter. Cattle were not housed in cold weather, and, as hay was very scarce, cornfodder was used as a substitute. In summer they were belled and turned out to range in the woods. Horses were belled and hobbled. Each farmer could identify the tinkle of his bells among twenty others. Hogs roamed freely in the forests, where they fattened in the fall on the mast. By winter time they were in fine condition for killing. Some pioneers paid for their lands by raising hogs in the woods.

FARM IMPLEMENTS

There were no factory-made implements. There were, in the early period, no wagon or blacksmith shops. The pioneers had to depend upon their own resources for such tools and implements as they needed. They made a very good plow with a wooden mold-board. When iron was used, the plowshare, point and bar were all of one piece. There were several kinds of plows. The bar-share was a cumbersome, unsatisfactory implement with a long six-foot beam, a three-foot bar, and handles that extended far backward. Plowing with such an implement was laborious work, and even dangerous in newly cleared ground abounding in roots and stumps. It was a standing joke among the pioneers that a bar-share would kick a man over the fence and kick him after he was over. In a few years the bar-share was superseded by the Cary plow, which approached the pattern of the modern implement, and this, about 1840, gave way in turn to the cast-iron plow. The shovel plow, however, was a favorite with the farmer. A harrow, both timber and teeth, was made from slippery elm or iron wood, usually in the form of an "A." Singletrees and double trees were made much as they are today except that clips, cleveices, and lap rings were made of hickory withes. They made horse collars of corn shucks or raw-hide. Raw-hide, too, was the materials of which bridles were manufactured. Properly crooked roots of forest trees furnished hames which were also fastened with leather thongs. The truck wagon with its rude wooden wheels was a familiar sight. The wheels were made from sections of a tree of the proper diameter. Tough hickory or white oak poles fitted into four inch holes in the middle of the wheels formed the axles. Each pair of wheels was connected by a hickory or oak pole, fitting into four-inch holes in the wheels. A rough coupling-pole completed the wagon. These crude, but serviceable, wagons were drawn by plodding oxen joined by a heavy wooden yoke, and were widely used for hauling wood, gathering corn, and other services incident to farming. Paradoxical as it may seem, the more grease one put on the axle the louder was the squeak—which could sometimes be heard for a mile.²⁹ Pitchforks were made entirely of wood from the forked boughs of a dogwood sapling or the antlers of an elk. Wooden rakes of strong seasoned wood and fitted with deer horns made very useful tools. Even spades were

²⁹ Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 321.

fashioned from good hickory which had been seasoned and when kept well oiled lasted for several years. Rude wooden sleds were in universal use by all that possessed horses or cattle. All farm implements were pinned together with hickory pins inserted into holes that were burned out, for the pioneer had no auger. Even settlers of later years had very few tools, the entire list usually comprising only a handsaw, crosscut saw, broadaxe, auger, chisel and drawing knife. To these the whole neighborhood had access.

CROPS

With these rude tools the pioneer tilled his crops. He plowed the ground as best he could but that is about all. During the first few years there was little harrowing of the soil, the rough condition of the field forbidding it. Grain sown "broadcast" was "brushed in." Farmers, too, confined themselves chiefly to the raising of Indian corn. But after mills suitable for grinding and bolting flour became accessible, they began to raise wheat. Corn ripened in about one hundred days after planting, so it was the most serviceable crop and perhaps the most widely cultivated. A field of this crop when in full tassel presented a pleasing appearance. An old French missionary writing back to his superior in the old world has this to say of a full-tasseled cornfield tilled by his Indian catechumens; "There are no fields so beautiful as these outside of paradise."³⁰ Flax for making linen was extensively cultivated. Oats potatoes, hemp, pumpkins, and orchard crops yielded rich returns. Apples, peaches, and grapes grew in abundance. Speaking of orchard conditions in 1843, Henry Ward Beecher said, "An orchard is to be found on almost every farm, and lately the pear tree has been more than ever sought after. At our October fair (county fair) was exhibited the greatest variety of fruits and flowers ever exhibited in this State, perhaps I may say in the West. From forty-five to sixty varieties of apples competed for a premium. . . . The number of seedling apples in this State is very great and in the neighborhood in which they grow, are esteemed more highly by the settlers than the old standard fruits."³¹ From these orchards, barrels of the finest cider were made and the vineyards furnished delicious wines. At Vevay, where a large number

³⁰ Turple, *Sketches of My Own Times*, p. 42.

³¹ *Indiana Magazine of History*, III., 189.

of Swiss settled, wine made from a round black grape was a staple product. The old fashioned garden was a thing of beauty. All kinds of vegetables were grown, but a portion of the ground was allotted to flowers. For a long time the tomato, introduced from the south, was grown merely as an ornament, and curiosity.³² Nobody ever thought of eating it, and it was not until later years that this delicious food was used on the table or grown for the market.

THE HARVEST SEASON

Despite the sultry weather the harvest season was a joyous time, a kind of a summer festival. Farmers of the neighborhood usually five or six, combined and went from field to field reaping and shocking as they went. At first the work was done with a sickle and rake, but these implements were soon superseded by the cradle. A half dozen cradles mowing with military precision was an impressive sight. Although the labor was hard, the men still had courage to jest and laugh. There were contests of skill and endurance—the ambition of most farmer boys was to be expert cradlers. The harvest on a single farm lasted on the average two or three days. When the last shock was capped the tools were stacked around it, the men and boys formed a circle, and, at a signal from the captain, the reapers gave three cheers. If the echo replied three times it was accounted a good omen for the next crop. A blast from a horn at the cabin was heard in answer and the harvest was ended. This little ceremony was known as the stubble call.³³ The surplus of the crop was bartered away at the country town for salt and other necessities. Sometimes it was sold for money, but such sales were few, for little coin was in circulation at that time. Men did not work for wages but for help in return.

The harvest season was characterized by good living. The best cooks in the neighborhood vied with each other in the preparation of food, and the workers lived on the fat of the land. In some communities whiskey was considered indispensable to the reapers; in others only water and buttermilk were drunk. In the middle of the afternoon, about 4 o'clock, it was the custom to send the men a light lunch with coffee. At the close of the day an elaborate supper awaited the workers, who ate heartily with no thought of dyspepsia.

³² Turple, *Sketches of My Own Times*, p. 33.

³³ Turple, *Sketches of My Own Times*, p. 26.

Meals were usually served out of doors in a long booth covered with green boughs, the table being bountifully supplied with substantial food and a dessert of homemade pastries.

HUNTING GINSENG

The sale of ginseng furnished not a little revenue to the early settler, for, being extremely valuable it was often paid for in cash. Men and boys spent days in the wild woods hunting and digging for the roots. It really required a skilled woodsman to locate the plant. In later years, Turpie says, it was a custom among the farmers to grant the boys three days each season to dig "sang." In this way the youngsters earned a little pocket money which they were free to use as they pleased. It frequently was used to purchase circus tickets.

SUGAR MAKING

An important industry of the early spring season was the manufacture of maple sugar. Immense groves of sugar maples were preserved after the surrounding forests were cleared away. In 1822 Governor's Circle in Indianapolis was a sugar camp.³⁴ The trees were tapped five or six feet above the ground. Rude troughs, hollowed out from short logs, split in halves, were placed at the trees to catch the flowing sap. Often these were scaffolded up by the poles to keep the hogs from drinking the water. Each morning the water was collected in a barrel, drawn on a sled from tree to tree by an ox team. In the sugar camp the sap was boiled into syrup or sugar. The Indians were as fond of maple sugar as the white and more than one old chief, sent west by the government, has wandered back to his former Indiana haunts in search of maple sweets.

DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING SALT

From 1800 to 1820 the settlers experienced great difficulty in seeking a sufficient supply of salt for culinary purposes and for the preservation of their game. It was very expensive, costing all the way from twelve to twenty cents per pound. So great was the demand for it and so limited the supply that it became a kind of standard of value. A bear skin was worth fifty cents in salt, a deer

³⁴ *The Indiana Magazine of History*, II., p. 129.

skin twenty cents, and a raccoon skin about fifteen cents. Pilgrimages to the licks and salt springs were made in large companies to guard against the surprises of Indians. At the springs the men camped out until they had evaporated enough salt for a year's supply. One of the perquisites insisted on by the Indians in their treaties with the United States was their annuity of salt.³⁵

FLATBOATS

In the early times the creeks and rivers of the State echoed with the songs of the flatboatmen who carried farm produce from the river landings down the Mississippi to the southern market, New Orleans. The construction of one of these boats required great labor.³⁶ First, two immense gunwhales from sixty to eighty feet in length were hewed from a large poplar tree. They were hauled to the river bank and placed on rollers. Strong girders were framed into them every eight or ten feet and securely fastened by heavy wooden pins. Small sleepers which were to receive the bottom of the boat were pinned into the girders every eighteen inches and flush with the bottom of the gunwhales. Upon this foundation a double bottom, securely calked with hemp was constructed. When the bottom was finished the craft was ready for launching. With a little effort the structure was rolled down the slope on the rollers into the water. Having been built bottom upward the boat had to be turned. This was accomplished by hitching two or three yoke of oxen to a line attached to the farther edge of the boat and carried over a limb or fork of a tree. The upper frame work for the body of the boat was then made secure with braces, and the siding nailed on. Strong joints were placed upon the frame work from side to side holding up the decking. At each end a strong post extended about three feet above the decking. By means of these posts the craft could be brought to shore and fastened to a tree or some other object. When the posts were revolved by spikes thrust through the holes bored into them the rope was gradually wound up and the boat pulled to shore. There were three oars, a steering oar at the back and two others used as sweeps to propel the craft and keep it out of the eddies. Such a crude boat was staunch and could

³⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, VII., 191.

Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 474.

³⁶ Levering, *Historic Indiana*, p. 74.

Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 508-510.

carry a very large amount of beef, pork, flour, meal, wheat, and corn to market. The vessels which usually travelled in fleets of eight or ten, started on their voyages in the early spring. The trip required six weeks. When the destination was reached and the cargo sold, the crew returned home by steamer. Some old rivermen, however, returned afoot.

STORES AND TRADE

Money was very scarce. As a result the barter system, developed to a rather complex stage, was in full sway. At the stores it was supplemented by the credit system for the convenience of the citizens. Powder, lead, salt, iron, leather, and whiskey were staples at every little store and were exchanged for such products as beeswax, tallow, feathers, ginseng, furs, deerskins, and wild hops. A few stores with a little more complete stock carried, in addition, knives, shears, sickles, augurs, trace chains, and other hardware; calico, fine cambric, pins, needles, and maybe a little broadcloth. At such a place the young girl got her wedding garments and the young dandy his "coat of blue cloth with yellow metal buttons, high rolling collar, and forked tail." Coffee, tea, sugar, and tobacco were luxuries commanding almost fabulous prices. On the other hand farm products were ridiculously cheap. It took eighty bushels of corn to buy a yard of silk, eight bushels to buy a yard of calico, and one hundred bushels to buy a yard of broad cloth.

After the settlers had paid for their quarter section of land at the government price of \$1.25 per acre they had little money with which to support a family or improve the purchase. Credit was necessary. The country was literally cleared and improved on credit.³⁷ Merchants and business men gave credit freely, and they in turn received long credit from the great eastern houses. In this way the pioneers were tided over until they could get a foothold. About the only articles that could not be bought on credit were powder, shot, whiskey and salt. An editor once promised that he would receive pay for subscriptions in corn, ginseng, honey, flour, pork, or almost anything but promises.

Trading was a feature of every assemblage of the public. They even "dickered" at church about the articles they needed. And the public square on court day was a veritable market.

³⁷ *Indiana Magazine of History*, III., 125.

PIONEER MILLS

Horse mills were first used to grind grain and Indian corn. But as soon as possible some settler, in every neighborhood where water power was available, would build a dam and set up a water mill. It involved the expenditure of not a little capital, for those days, to purchase a site, dig a race, and build a house to enclose the machinery. People came from twenty to thirty miles and often had to wait three or four days and nights for the grist. The grain was brought in sacks on horseback and the men and boys camped about the mill until their turns. At the water mills the toll was usually one sixth, but at horse mills and later steam mills it was one fourth, but every man had to bolt his own flour from the chaff. Patrons declared of course that the miller took too much toll. In fact most millers were suspected more or less of dishonesty, an imputation altogether unfounded. An amusing story is told which illustrates this distrust. A farmer sent his boy with a sack of corn to the mill and told him to watch the miller for if he did not the fellow would steal all the corn. When the lad's turn came he never lost sight of the sack. Finally the miller poured the corn into the hopper and dropped the sack at his feet. The boy watched his chance, snatched the sack away, and rode his horse home as fast as the animal could go. The father who came out into the yard said, "Johnny, where is your meal, and why are you riding so fast?" The boy answered, "The old rascal stole every grain of the corn and aimed to keep the sack; but I watched him, and as soon as he laid it down I got it and ran home."³⁸

ROADS AND TRAVEL

Our pioneer fathers did not travel very extensively. Some of them never passed beyond the confines of their immediate settlements. The lack of roads was of course responsible for this isolation and provinciality. The earliest roads were narrow, winding, Indian trails where travel was single file. When immigration increased, rough roads were "blazed" and cleared away sufficient to permit the passage of lumbering wagons. They were strips sixty feet wide, from which the trees had been cut and removed. In the center of the roadway the stumps were cut low to permit the pas-

³⁸ Coekrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 328.

sage of the axles of the wagon. In the rest the stumps stood two or three feet high all along the route. There was no attempt at drainage or embankments. When the rains fell in summer or when the frozen ground thawed in winter, they became almost impassable. Streams had to be crossed by fording or by rude ferries. The worst places were made passable by corduroy, constructed of rough logs laid side by side and kept in place by their weight. About 1820 a definite system of roads was projected to connect important points. In that year not less than twenty-six roads, connecting the older towns and even extending into the interior, were projected and commissioners appointed to view the land and mark out the routes. A strong impulse toward road improvement was given by the opening of the Wabash and Erie canal. Plank roads which made very admirable highways were built by corporations, who operated them for toll. But they were not satisfactory, continual repairs being necessary on account of exposure to the weather. Later gravel and pike roads came into use after the subsidence of the craze for railway construction.

A distant journey was an undertaking of no little moment. A traveler in winter carefully protected his legs by sufficient wrappings. In his bulging saddlebags he carried his clothes, shaving apparatus, and other articles, indispensable to a traveler. Settlers often carried fire with them, so that they might not be detained in making a fire by the slow process of flint and steel.

OLD TIME TAVERNS

As travel along a particular road became more general some families undertook to offer rude hospitality to the wayfarers. The best cook and housekeeper soon became known and her cabin was selected as the goal for the day's journey. In this way some people began to "keep tavern". From this humble beginning it was not very long until regular hostelries were established for the entertainment of guest.³⁹ Liquor soon came to be sold, but a liquor seller must have a tavern license certifying that he was a freeholder, and that he had two spare beds and two horse stalls, that were not necessary for his own use. This was the only form of liquor license issued in the early days. Way-houses that did not sell liquor need-

³⁹ *Indiana Magazine of History*, I., 79-80; III., 187.
Twiltes, *Early Western Travels*, IX., 161.

ed no license and advertised their hospitality as "private entertainment." There were many taverns on the different roads radiating from Indianapolis. They were log, frame, and sometimes brick structures with a wooden piazza in front. At the side from the top of a tall post hung a sign board portraying a rude representation of Washington, Wayne, Jackson, or some other noted man. These signs were odd and catchy. One displayed its welcome in poetry:

"This gate hangs high and hinders none,
Refresh and pay, then travel on."

At the top of the house was a small bell which was rung at meal time, when the boarders gathered around the table and ate without any preface. All classes dined together, high and low, rich and poor. First class entertainment could be had for man and beast all for seventy-five cents. For man there was corn-bread, chicken, eggs, venison, bacon, preserved fruits, buckwheat cakes and honey; for beast, a good feed of corn, oats and hay. There were usually several beds in the same room, an arrangement which afforded little or no privacy. The guests washed at a wooden trough behind the house or at the pump. Most lawyers, doctors, business men, and the more prosperous farmers stopped at these old-time taverns on their way to and from the capital or larger cities. After a hard day of travel through mud and rain these inns were doubly attractive. The traveler was welcomed to a seat near the big open fire. A boy stripped off his leggings, took his great coat and hat and bore them away to be dried; his shoes were replaced by a pair of light, comfortable "pumps." Every progressive tavern had a large supply of this cheap but convenient footwear. With all this there was a glass of something warm to take off the chill. In the morning the shoes were returned neatly brushed and blackened, or tallowed perhaps; the damp clothing dried and cleaned once more. Wagoners driving mules or oxen on their way to the river towns with loads of produce, were frequently guests at the inns. Yards had to be provided for the wagons and for hogs that were driven overland to the market. Accommodations were few and poor, but the genuineness of the hospitality and the humor and good nature of the landlord were sufficient to satisfy the pioneer traveler.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1888 IN INDIANA

By R. C. BULEY, Graduate Student, Indiana University

In few national campaigns has Indiana played a more important and interesting part than in that of 1888. Not only did she furnish one of her sons as a candidate, but she was particularly agitated over both the national and local issues. Then she was a doubtful State whose vote would greatly influence, perhaps decide, the results of the election. Some even went so far as to say that the party which carried Indiana would secure the presidency and looked upon the State not only as a pivotal but a determining State. On June 9 Senator Voorhees said, "Indiana will cast 550,000 votes at the approaching election, and with that enormous vote there is simply a plurality between the great parties of 6,000 or 7,000, no majority, a bare plurality. You can imagine, then, what the shock of battle is there. The key to the situation is Indiana."¹

The great national issue of 1888 was the tariff. It was made the great staple of party arguments in Indiana, but there were a number of local issues and scandals which gave added life to the contest within the State. There was the question of the Democratic gerrymandering, of the mismanagement of the State charitable institutions, the Sim Coy tally-sheet forgeries, and others.

The campaign in the State started early in the year. Indeed, on January 2, a prominent Democratic editor of Indianapolis put forth a plea for close organization within the State and emphasized his belief that without it there could be no victory. January 11, a conference was held at Indianapolis, made up of two delegates from each county, appointed by the chairman of the county committee. Its chief purpose was to adopt plans for the uniform organization of Hendricks clubs throughout the State. During the latter part of the month Maurice Thompson who was travelling in the south published an interview in a New Orleans paper concerning the prospects in Indiana. He said that the Democratic party was thoroughly alive and harmonious all over the State and eager to atone for the carelessness which came so near losing the whole field for it the year before. The Republican party in Indiana

¹ Indianapolis Journal, June 9, 1888.

was well organized and led by strong men. Senator Benjamin Harrison was a very able man and within the last few years had shown himself a better politician than formerly. Harrison and his party were preparing to make a tremendous effort to carry the State in the coming campaign; but success seemed doubtful if the Democrats continued to hold together. "With Daniel W. Voorhees, Joseph E. McDonald and Isaac P. Gray in the field, a united party organized as the young Democracy will organize it, and a campaign like that of 1884, the State will give us 10,000 majority at the least."

January 29, the United States District Court convicted Sim Coy and W. F. A. Bernhamer of trying to get unlawful possession of the tally sheets in the Indianapolis elections the autumn previous. This was not the end but, in a way, only the beginning of trouble for the Democrats. Soon afterward the *New York Tribune* contained the following: "Two Democratic managers were sent to prison at Indianapolis Friday, for forging returns in order to secure a Democratic Legislature and thereby the election of a United States senator from that State. Mr. David Turpie votes in the Senate today, a bogus Senator in a stolen seat, because these crimes were perpetrated."²

This brought forth a burst of anger from the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, Democratic. It called the above statements lies and said that they disclosed the purpose and intent of the Republican scheme.

Blaine's Florence letter of January 25th was published on February 13th. It was received in Indiana with pretty much the same sentiment as elsewhere. Some few Democrats looked upon it as a shrewd move upon Blaine's part to keep his name before the public, but the Republicans generally accepted it as sincere. On the whole Indiana took Blaine at his word. The letter seemed to have no effect on the Harrison boom. Hon. William H. English said the letter would not affect the Democrats and added that either Judge Walter Q. Gresham or Senator Harrison would be stronger in Indiana than Blaine. Congressman Will Cumbach held Blaine's letter to mean what is said and was for Harrison for the nominee. After Harrison he placed Indiana's choice on John Sherman. Incidentally he remarked that he, himself, was not seeking the nomination for governor but that he would like to be the governor of a great State like Indiana.

² *New York Tribune*, February 7, 1888.

By the middle of February Indiana politics were warming up in fine style. This was an unusual thing and all saw the intensity of the coming struggle. The Republicans began to see that by making secure Indiana, Connecticut, and New Jersey, they could do without New York.

The Indianapolis *Journal* was steadily putting forth Harrison as the Republican candidate for president. It was attacked on various sides for this favoritism. The Cincinnati *Enquirer* wanted to know why Harrison and not Gresham was the choice. The *Scintinel* gave the *Journal* a sharp raking for booming Harrison. "Mr. Harrison may have his supporters for the presidency but to say that he is 'the choice of Indiana', 'the only presidential candidate in the State', and all that sort of nonsense is an insult to the intelligence of the readers. The truth is there are more Gresham men in Indiana today than Harrison men."

February 16 the Republican editors of Indiana held their semi-annual meeting at Indianapolis. Here Ex-Governor Albert G. Porter was called on for a speech. He declared that the only living issue of the campaign was free trade or protection. "Deacon" Smith of the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* was for an intelligent waving of the bloody shirt and declared that a Republican campaign on the tariff would lead to defeat. Langsdale of Greencastle and other prominent leaders considered the "bloody shirt" the supreme issue. Senator Harrison called attention to one question, now the most absorbing and prominent of the campaign,—that of the free ballot. He considered it not only the State but the national question. The editors were, on the whole, favorable to Harrison, but the sentiment was by no means unanimous. The majority was for an uninstructed delegation to the Chicago Convention and thought that a vote ought to be given Harrison at the start. This could be transferred to Gresham in case he developed strength.

The Republican State Central Committee was organized on the 16th with Mr. F. H. Huston as chairman. An effort was made to pledge the unanimous support of the committee to Senator Benjamin Harrison. But there were on the committee two pronounced Gresham men. E. D. Crumpacker and the Tenth District stood boldly for the Judge. Around Fort Wayne much Gresham sentiment was developed. The soldiers there seemed opposed to Harrison.

Many Democrats attacked Harrison as the machine man. They considered him, and his political existence, as the product, root and branch, of the worst element of Indiana machine politics. He was "by the machine, of the machine, and for the machine," and if the Gresham men wanted anything in the State they must first smash the machine.

On February 20 there was a conference in Indianapolis of a number of prominent party leaders favorable to Gresham's candidacy. Two days later the *Chicago Tribune* contained an editorial addressed to Indiana politicians. It asked those who were promoting Harrison if they had thoroughly considered his availability for the presidency, his strength among the people, his Chinese record, his prohibition record, etc. "Are they not making a mistake in pushing him instead of Judge Gresham, a far stronger and more popular man? On every point where Harrison is weak, Gresham is strong. He is a man on whom all factions could heartily unite." Truly it was as the *Hendricks County Gazette* said: Indiana was blest not with a favorite son, but with twins, while there were swaddling clothes prepared for only one.

March 8 the Democratic State Central Committee met. The date for the State Convention was fixed for April 26. The basis of representation therein was to be one delegate for each 200 votes cast for Isaac P. Gray in 1884 and one additional for each fraction of 100 or over.

The Prohibition State Convention was held at Indianapolis March 15-16. Jasper S. Hughes of Marion county was nominated for Governor. The platform contained planks for the annihilation of the liquor traffic and a free ballot unrestricted by sex. It declared against the levying of greater taxes than necessary for an honest and economical administration of the government. The Prohibitionists claimed from twelve to twenty thousand votes in the State.

The Democratic State Convention assembled on April 26, Courtland C. Matson and William R. Myers were nominated with little effort for governor and lieutenant-governor. The Hon. W. H. English then read the party platform calling for a reform of the unjust tariff, such civil service reform as would insure an honest administration, legislation for the greatest protection of the interests and welfare of the industrial masses, etc.

Congressman Courtland C. Matson, the nominee for governor, was at the time chairman of the House Committee on Pensions. He was born in Brookville, Indiana, April 25, 1841. After finishing the common school he went to Indiana Asbury (now DePauw) University. At his graduation he enlisted for the Civil War in the Sixth Indiana Infantry; after serving here a year he was transferred to the Sixth Cavalry and finally became its colonel. At the close of the War he studied law in Greencastle, was elected prosecutor and became a party leader. He was elected to the Forty-fifth, Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses.

Capt. W. R. Myers was born in Ohio in 1836. He studied law but had hardly begun practice before the War began. He enlisted and served four years in the Fourth Indiana Cavalry; at the close of the War he returned to Anderson and took up his profession. In 1878 he was elected to Congress from the Sixth District, and four years later was elected Secretary of State.

Speaking of the Democratic Convention the *Indianapolis Journal* said, "Yet, this thoroughly Democratic and Bourbon Convention was controlled by and for renegade Republicans. The principal object of the Convention, and the feature of its work that excited the most interest was to endorse one of these for vice-president, and the point of next greatest interest was the race between the two others for the gubernatorial nomination, resulting in the nomination of one for governor and the other for lieutenant-governor. Gray, Matson, and Myers were all Republicans during the portion of their careers most worthy of honorable mention, and only began to serve the Democracy after they had ceased to serve the country."³

The Republican Convention met May 3 for the election of the four delegates at large. Ex-Governor A. G. Porter, Ex-Secretary R. W. Thompson, J. H. Huston and Hon. Clem. Studebaker were chosen. Indiana's delegation to Chicago was now complete. The Harrison men had used every device to make the delegation solid for Harrison, but had not entirely succeeded. Indiana's claim for Harrison was that her fifteen electoral votes were essential to Republican success and that her candidate was the only one who could make them sure beyond the shadow of a doubt. The Democrats had tried to make a great deal of the Harrison-Gresham struggle and to

³ *Indianapolis Journal*, April 27, 1888.

show how the Republican party was already split into factions. Many Democrats said that the chief obstacle to the nomination of Gresham was Jay Gould and that the Republican party would not dare nominate a man to whom Jay Gould was opposed. There was nothing objectionable, though, about Harrison. He had been a part of the machine ever since he had entered politics and had never expressed an independent political thought in his life. The Republicans denied this in a most unequivocal manner and maintained that the party was solid, harmonious and united.

The Prohibition National Convention was held at Indianapolis May 30-31. Clinton B. Fisk of New Jersey was nominated for president and John A. Brooks of Missouri for vice-president. The platform declared the manufacture, importation, and sale of alcoholic beverages a crime and that prohibition be secured through the amendment of State and national constitutions. It declared against any form of liquor license and against the internal revenue system. It advocated equal suffrage, and arbitration as the Christian, wise, and economic way of settling national differences.

Early in June the Gray men in Indiana started a Gray boom for the vice-presidency. His candidacy was not successful, however, and Grover Cleveland of New York and Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio were nominated by acclamation at the St. Louis convention, June 6. As soon as the news of the nominations reached Indiana enthusiastic ratification meetings were held at Shelbyville, Terre Haute, Delphi, Muncie, Columbus, Greenfield, and many other places.

The Harrison campaign began in Indiana with the tearing down by hoodlums of Cleveland banners on a prominent thoroughfare in Indianapolis, about June 28. No one party, however, had a monopoly of the rough tricks. After a Harrison-Morton ratification meeting at New Albany, June 30, the Democrats got a Chinaman drunk and persuaded him to hang up Chinese lanterns, fire fire-works, and shout for Harrison for some time. The Republicans called this the "dirtiest, most contemptible, and dishonorable trick of the campaign."

There was an effort on the part of the Democrats to show that Harrison was unfriendly to organized labor. "His public career has been that of an advocate, supporter and apologist of corporations and monopolies." He had been a railroad attorney for many

years, and in the Senate was known as one of the railroad Senators. His votes against anti-Chinese legislation also showed his stand against labor.

Along toward the end of June an absurd incident took place which caused quite a bit of trouble. A certain company was exhibiting a large cyclorama of the Battle of Atlanta. In some manner or other the figure of General Harrison was inserted in it. In reality the General was several miles away at the time of the battle. The Democratic stockholders especially became exceedingly indignant and raised quite a disturbance. It turned out that the stunt was the work of the manager of the picture, Mr. Perry. He thought that it would be a good place for a boost for the General.

The Republican papers of Indianapolis tried the 'State pride' plea to obtain votes. The *Sentinel* at once came back with the question as to whether honest Greenbackers were going wild with delight at being able to vote for one who in 1878 wanted them all committed to asylums for the insane.

By July 6 it was understood that Albert G. Porter had consented to run for Governor. The Democrats said that he was to deliver the Republican and Independent labor vote to Harrison in consideration for which he was to receive a seat in the cabinet when the latter was elected. They did not think either party would be able to carry out his side of the bargain. Porter was not a willing candidate. He would rather have been president, vice-president, Senator, or a foreign ambassador. In reality the Harrison machine hated Porter and only wanted him to pull Harrison's chestnuts out of the fire. Willing candidates were Will Cumback, J. M. Butler, General A. P. Hovey, and General Shackleford.

The *Louisville Post* of July 20 said that the campaign in Indiana would be interesting because there would be lots of boodle for distribution. The Republicans had W. W. Dudley at the head of the campaign and Dudley was a veritable synonym for boodle.

The Republican plan of campaign on the tariff seemed to be to take the manufacturing industries of the State, one by one, and tell the employees thereof that they would be ruined if the Mill's Bill (reducing the tariff) became a law. The attack started on the saw makers, then hit the tile workers, coal miners and starch makers.

When Colonel Robert S. Robertson of Fort Wayne heard of the Porter candidacy he became rather angry. He had been favorably

considered by the machine all the time, but now he felt his hold slipping. But July 29 Porter made public his declination of the gubernatorial candidacy. He said that he had served in every Republican campaign since the organization of the party, and that he felt sure that his friends would not press upon him a candidacy to which he would be averse and feel obliged to decline. It was thought that Colonel Robertson's attitude was largely responsible for this refusal.

The Republicans considered the Prohibition vote the last reliance of the "free-whiskey, liquor-league Democracy." Wherever possible Democratic money would be used to aid the Fisk-Brooks, third party ticket. A vote for the third party was a vote almost directly against temperance reform and for the freest possible free whiskey. The Democratic party in Indiana had been a consistent friend of the Liquor League and the saloon. The contest was to be one between the free-whiskey, saloon Democracy and the Republican party, a party which had taken every step that had been taken in restricting liquor legislation. The Democrats came back by attacking the "Free Whiskey" plank of the Republican platform. With the tax removed whiskey would come down to twenty-five cents per gallon.

August 4 the Democracy of Vigo county held its convention. After an imposing night demonstration Senator Voorhees, the "Tall Sycamore of the Wabash", sounded the key note of the campaign. He delivered the regular party arguments against the Republican party. He tried to show that the history of the Republican party on taxation was the history of premeditated, organized crime against the laboring people of the United States. "The campaign on the part of the Democratic party is a war against the unjust taxation of American labor for the benefit of enriched idlers and pampered monopolists."⁴

At the beginning of August the Republicans were still in a muddle. General Hovey had made it known that he was not a candidate and did not intend to be. Many were still howling for Porter. Robertson was in the fight to stay. He had established headquarters at the Denison Hotel and started an active canvass. The Rev. Ira J. Chase of Danville was a rather seriously talked-of candidate. He was counted on for the support of the temperance dele-

⁴ *Indianapolis Sentinel*, August 5, 1888.

gates and church people. George W. Steele of Marion had not declared his intentions as yet but would loom up strongly if Porter stayed out of the race. Porter's letter of declination had complicated instead of simplifying matters. In a speech to the railroad men August 4, he said, "Gentlemen, I feel that I must stand by my integrity."

Although the State candidates were attracting quite a bit of the attention of the voters of Indiana, the national candidates were not slighted. The Democrats, headed by the *Sentinel* were giving Harrison the time of his life. First, there was his Chinese record which was reviewed for the benefit of the laboring class. In an editorial of June 28 the *Sentinel* said, "The truth is that Senator Harrison voted against the restriction of Chinese immigration because he didn't want it restricted; because he thought the gates should be opened wide to Chinese as to all other nationalities; and because he was not in sympathy with the demand of American working-men for protection against competition with the Asiatic hordes which have reduced the standard of wages on the Pacific slope to the pauper level."

There were even graver charges than this for the General to face. He was accused of securing the naturalization of Chinamen in Indianapolis in 1880 in order that they might vote the Republican ticket and help Harrison secure the senatorship. At any rate six of only twenty Chinese naturalized in the United States were naturalized just previous to the election of 1880. Certain of the Chinese, still residing in Indianapolis, admitted the fact that they had voted the Republican ticket in 1880. Then came the attack upon Harrison's labor record in general. His position during the strike of 1877 seemed to be an especially vulnerable point. Senator Joseph Bailey made a speech at Mozart Hall, Indianapolis, August 30 which dealt almost entirely with Harrison and the strike. "He had an opportunity to expand to the full proportion of a friend and champion of labor. Did he do it? Let the answer come from as despicable a record as was ever made. Let it come from insulting harangues. Let it come from the pleadings of a paid attorney of railroads. Let it come from the tramp, tramp, tramp, of soldiers led by Harrison and equipped to shoot down railroad men at the word of command." When the Ohio and Mississippi railroad company went into the

hands of the receiver, Harrison had become the attorney of that official. In the final settlement, besides sums allowed the attorneys from time to time, Harrison had received \$21,000.

Early after Harrison's nomination it was rumored on the streets that he had said "That a dollar a day was enough for a workingman," "That if he were governor or sheriff he would force the men to time at the point of the bayonet," "That if necessary he would shoot them down," etc. Senator Bailey quoted letters from strikers residing in Indianapolis vouching for the truth of each of these statements.

Long before this, however, the *Journal* had given the lie to all such statements. Beginning with the issue of July 6 it ran an advertisement in the editorial column offering one thousand dollars to any man, woman, or child in Marion county, Indiana, or the United States and territories, producing the proof that General Harrison ever said "That a dollar a day was enough for any workingman." The *Sentinel* called this the "Thousand-Dollar Bluff," and added incidentally that it had never asserted that Harrison had made the remark in question.

The Republican State caucus met August 6. As a result it was made certain that Porter would not be a candidate. It appeared as though Porter had been misrepresented by his too-anxious friends. In an interview with Steele he had made it clear that he would not accept the nomination. Steele had profited by the withdrawal and Hovey was only mentioned now and then. The *Sentinel* represented the Republicans as being in quite a predicament. "Cumback is a fanatic on the liquor question, Robertson made a fiasco in the legislative contest of 1887, Steele is a smiling nonentity with a deal of assurance and a very small equipment of brains, and Chase is a bloviating humbug. Huston, Hovey and Lew Wallace have decided the game isn't worth the price."⁵

On the 7th of August Porter's ghost still hung around the Republican camp. He was kept busy all day refusing and made a final refusal to a committee which called on him.

The Republican State platform indorsed and ratified the action of the National Convention of Chicago. It then declared that "crimes against equal ballot and equal representation are destructive of free government. The iniquitous and unfair apportion-

⁵ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, August 7, 1888.

ment for Congress and the General Assembly, made at the behest of the liquor league of Indiana, followed by conspiracy and forgery upon the election returns of 1886, in Marion county, for which a number of prominent Democratic leaders were indicted and tried, two of whom are now serving the deserved penalty of their acts demands the rebuke of every patriotic citizen." The Gerrymander was then condemned and the actions of the Democrats in the last Legislature attacked. These were characterized as "revolutionary and criminal." "The will of the people, expressed in a peaceable and lawful election, advised and participated in by the Democratic party, was set at defiance, and the constitution and laws as expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States, disregarded and nullified.—The alleged election of a United States senator was accomplished by fraud and forced by high-handed usurpation of power, the overthrow of constitutional and legal forms, the setting aside of the results of popular election and the theft of the prerogatives of duly elected and qualified members of the legislature. The stolen senatorship is a part of the Democratic administration at Washington, now in power by virtue of public crimes and the nullification of the constitution and laws."

The Republicans favored the passage and enforcement of laws which would prevent the competition of imported, servile, convict or contract labor of all kinds with free labor; the prohibition of the employment of young children in factories and mines; the guarantee to workingmen of the most favorable conditions of service, especially proper safeguards for life and comfort in mines and factories, on railroads and in all hazardous occupations. They also desired the reduction of hours wherever practicable and the submission to just and impartial arbitration, under regulations that would make the arbitration effective, all controversies between workingmen and their employers. "Railway and other corporations should be subject to control through the legislative power that created them; their undue influence in legislation and in the courts, and the imposition of unnecessary burdens upon the people, through illegitimate increase of stock or capital, should be summarily prevented."

Another plank demanded that politics and legislation be kept from the influence of the saloon and it advocated local option, by

which the various communities throughout the State might do as they demed best,—either control or suppress the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

At 10:00 a. m. on the 8th, when the convention assembled the Porter feeling was intense. A night of caucusing had done no good. The account of Porter's final refusal fell like a wet blanket. For a while things looked favorable to Robertson, but during a recess the machine element united with the Porter forces and by giving the impression that Robertson was responsible for the ex-governor's withdrawal, helped in bringing about the defeat of the Allen county man. According to the *Sentinel's* account, Chairman Calkins was with the machine program and recognized all who wanted to second Hovey's nomination. In this way enough votes were secured to nominate Hovey. The machine didn't particularly want Hovey but was determined to defeat Robertson. Ira J. Chase was nominated for lieutenant governor.

The Republican candidate for governor, Alvin P. Hovey, was born in Posey county in 1821. He studied law with a distinguished lawyer, J. Pitcher of Mt. Vernon. He was a delegate to the Indiana Constitutional Convention of 1850-51 and took a prominent part in the debates. From 1851- to 1854 Hovey was judge of the circuit court, and from 1854 to 1855 of the State Supreme Court. He was United States District Attorney for the State under Pierce and Buchanan. During the War he was colonel of the Twenty-fourth Regiment of volunteers and became a major general in 1864. From 1865 to 1870 he was minister to Peru. Before the War he was a Democrat.

In brief, the Republicans stated the issues as follows:—

1. The gerrymander of the State for legislative purposes in 1885.
2. The infamous management of the insane hospital and its notorious prostitution for political purposes.
3. The usurpation of Green Smith, his bold theft of the office of lieutenant governor and the revolutionary proceedings accompanying it.
4. The wholesale corruption in the Southern Prison.
5. The Sim Coy tally-sheet forgeries.

In the Legislature of 1884-5 the Democrats had a majority on joint ballot of 46. Not content with this they redistricted the

State so as to give them a still larger majority, making a gerrymander of which Senator Voorhees said that he should feel personally disgraced if it did not give the Democrats a majority of fully two-thirds.

There had been corruption in the Democratic management of the State charitable institutions but the Republican account was undoubtedly exaggerated. "Nothing in the history of the State has excited more popular indignation than the prostitution of the Insane Hospital by a corrupt ring of Democratic politicians, including the abuse of the inmates and feeding them on maggots butter and diseased hogs supplied by favored contractors of the ring." As for Mr. Smith, his usurpation of the office of lieutenant governor was the most high-handed outrage ever attempted in the State. The Sim Coy tally-sheet forgeries were a part of the Democratic scheme to carry Marion county and to obtain a majority in the Legislature. The two imprisoned ring-leaders were regarded and treated as Democratic martyrs. Coy still drew pay as councilman from the Eighteenth Ward of Indianapolis. In this manner the Republicans stated the State issues.

Throughout the month of August great tariff arguments were put forth by both parties in their respective organs. There were long comparisons of the conditions of foreign and American labor and manufactures. The Republicans made a strong plea to the common sense of the workingman and said "He can't be fooled."

By August 30 the State campaign had begun in real earnest. On that date Matson made an address at Logansport. There was a big reception and parade. Enthusiasm was intense. And it was this way all over the State. Both parties were warming up for the final stretch. Pole raisings took place at every town and cross-roads. Bandanna clubs were organized. Very often considerable of the rough element made itself evident. In Monroe county the Republicans bulldozed the colored Democrats. There was much rowdyism in Indianapolis. Speakers were interrupted, insulted, etc. There was no lack of speakers to interest the voters of the State. Besides the State candidates there were Gray, Thurman, Blaine, Gen. Sheridan, Anna Dickinson and many others. Governor Gray took the stump for the Democrats and argued against the tariff with all his might. The speeches that Thurman, "The Old Roman," made on his trip through Ohio and Michigan were

followed as closely by Indiana readers as those he made in their own State. Anna Dickinson worked all over the State for the Republicans. She attracted quite a bit of attention. The Republicans also had Mr. A. C. Rankin, a Pittsburgh Knight of Labor, at work in Indiana. He delivered strong tariff speeches and tried especially to convince the workingmen that they wanted a high protective tariff.

An incident showing the keen rivalry between the parties and speakers occurred at Fort Wayne. General George A. Sheridan was scheduled to speak. The Democrats hired all the bands in town and, being in with the officials, got possession of the court house steps where the Republican speaker was scheduled to speak. There was a counter parade also. At last, however, the Republicans scared up another band and had a parade in spite of the Democrats.

In the course of the campaign General Hovey did not escape unattacked. His weak point was found to be his homestead record. Section 22, Article 1, of the Indiana Constitution reads: The privilege of the debtor to enjoy the necessary comforts of life shall be recognized by wholesome laws, exempting a reasonable amount of property from seizure or sale for the payment of any debt or liability hereafter contracted; and there shall be no imprisonment for debt except in case of fraud.

With the exception of the last clause the above was reported to the Constitutional Convention of 1850 and adopted by 108 to A. P. Hovey and seventeen others. Then Hovey was accused of being exclusive, aristocratic, and unpopular. He had no personal friends. It was said that he claimed the soul of Napoleon Bonaparte. He believed in the transmigration of souls, and as he was born at the hour of Napoleon's death he claimed to be the great Napoleon reincarnated.

Besides this Hovey had to explain his action against the negroes and Jews. In the Constitutional Convention he had voted for a provision making it a crime for any negro to come into the State of Indiana. During the War he issued a proscriptive order as a military commander, against the Jews as a class. He excluded them from his lines and denounced them as mercenary spies, traitors, and bloodhounds of commerce. All this made good campaign material for the Democrats.

Towards the end of September certain Democrats began to take up the *Journal's* offer of \$1000 for the proof of any of the eight calumnies in circulation. The *Journal* said if these proofs were pushed officially,—by Thomas Taggart, Charles L. Jewett, etc., it would put up the money.

For some weeks the Republicans had been attacking Matson through his attitude on pensions. Matson had distributed throughout the State quite a number of copies of a pension speech made July 28 in the House of Representatives. The *Journal* said that this speech, though printed in the *Congressional Record*, and circulated as a public document under Matson's frank, was never delivered in the House. In this respect the speech was no more fraudulent than some other speeches, but what hurt was the fact that the speech attempted to prove that the Democrats in Congress and the Cleveland administration had been pre-eminently the soldier's friend. The letter, according to the Republican view was entirely in keeping with Matson's established character as a tricky politician and demagogue. "It is simply a campaign document, cunningly formed to deceive the old soldiers and whitewash the record of the Democratic party on the pension question. Colonel Matson himself, as chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, has prevented pension legislation as effectually as if he had been put there for that purpose, and probably he was."⁶ Continuing; the *Journal* explained that for years past the Democratic opposition to pension legislation had been "stealthy and insidious," but none the less determined and effective. The entire pension system was the work of the Republican party and not a pension law on the statute books had been passed but over Democratic opposition, secret or open. The committee on invalid pensions, of which Matson was chairman, was the graveyard of pension bills. Here they were smothered, strangled and done to death. Such, according to the Republicans, was the true record of a man who claimed to be the soldier's friend.

An example of the Republican method of arguing for the tariff was given in Indianapolis early in October. Millionaire E. C. Atkins was caught bulldozing his employees. He discharged Democrats from his saw works because they were not in sympathy, politically, with the members of the firm.

* *Indianapolis Journal*, September 28, 1888.

The tariff was still the paramount issue and came to occupy more and more attention. Long arguments appeared in both the *Sentinel* and *Journal*. These were widely circulated by the whole Indiana press. In the *Sentinel* of October 2nd there appeared a long article entitled, "Indiana and the Tariff,—the Experience of a Hundred Years." In this it was shown how the State had gained under a low tariff and lost under a high one. A lesson was taken from Ireland. Besides the religious wars, what had been most injurious to Ireland was the persistent taxation of that country for the benefit of English manufacturers.

For several weeks vague rumors had been circulating to the effect that the Republicans were going to colonize Indiana. The *Chicago Herald* of October 2 gave forth the startling news that two hundred Chicago negroes had left the Polk street depot on Friday evening and three hundred on Saturday. They were bound for various points in Northern Indiana. The idea was to colonize them throughout the State so that they might vote for Harrison in the election.

Throughout October there were big speech-makings, celebrations, and rallies of all kinds. The loyal supporters marched in uniform and at night there were long parades in which torches, transparent banners and colored fire figured prominently. Both parties were now working in all earnestness for votes. On the fifth, W. H. Smith, Secretary of the Lincoln League of Indiana sent the following letter to the clubs all over the State: "Is there not some Democratic voter you can win over——? I would suggest that your executive committee, or a committee of wise and discreet men appointed for the purpose, choose from among the Democrats in your section some two or more of them and systematically work to win them over. Much depends—upon your discretion, but work with a purpose."⁷ The Democrats had quite a bit to say about this letter but if the truth were known it would have disclosed similar methods on their part.

James G. Blaine spoke in Indianapolis October 11. A great crowd turned out to hear the noted Republican, and he and not Harrison was the center of attraction. On the following day Governor Hill, Democratic candidate for re-election as governor of New York spoke amid real enthusiasm.

⁷ Indianapolis *Sentinel*, October 5, 1888.

It is very amusing, to say the least, to notice the accounts the respective party organs give of the meetings of their parties. Meetings of hundreds, of course, were always reported as so many thousands. For instance according to the *Sentinel*, 50,000 people heard Thurman speak at Shelbyville, October 15, a rainy day.⁸ Another crowd of 50,000 was reported as greeting the Old Roman at Fort Wayne. This seemed to be a favorite number with the Democrats.

Concerning the Marion county campaign a member of the Republican committee said, "We have evidence to warrant us to believe that our work so far has brought about such good results that the Democrats can do nothing to give them any chance except to resort to those methods for which some of their party leaders in the past have been infamous." Each party thoroughly distrusted the other and tried to make it appear that it was the sole obstacle in the way of a fair election scheme. For instance, we learn from the Democratic papers that Chairman Jewett of the Democratic State Committee, unable to secure the cooperation of the Republican managers in any fair and practical scheme to secure an honest election in Marion county and the State, took, by direction of the committee, measures to effect that object. A committee of one hundred leading Democrats was selected to devise means of protecting the ballot box from fraud on November 6. The following letter, written by J. W. Huston, Republican State chairman, and labeled "In Strictest Confidence" appeared in the Democratic papers on the eighteenth:

Republican State Committee, Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 9, 1888.

My Dear Sir:—I am reliably informed that the Democracy intend at the close of the campaign to inaugurate the plan of circulating the most infamous lies and indulge in forgeries and other frauds that will eclipse the Morey letter of '80. We must anticipate their movements and should through our own newspapers advise our party friends of their base intentions, by so doing we will rob them of their thunder. I wish you would refer to the above as often as you think necessary. I think the reports that the Democracy are well and liberally supplied with funds, should be rigorously circulated, if the impression prevails that the Democracy have a very large amount of money, it will be found necessary that they divide generously to hold their own people. I am satisfied, too, that it is now proposed to colonize voters in various parts of the State and this should be given to our friends that they may be on their guard. We cannot be too vigilant; the enemy will fight desperately and resort to any means to win. What I have written is in the strictest confidence and for your own use.

Yours truly,

J. W. HOUSTON, Chairman.

⁸ *Sentinel*, October 15, 1888.

Early in the campaign the Republicans had said that a vote for the Prohibitionists was a vote for the Democrats. Now the Democrats said the same thing of the Union Labor party. The presidential ticket of this party was headed by Alson J. Streeter. The Republicans, according to their political opponents, made strenuous efforts to capture the organization of the Union Labor party and from all appearances succeeded. Large amounts of money were believed to have been used in manipulating the Union Labor movement. The Streeter campaign was pushed vigorously in Democratic counties and not in Republican. In this manner it was hoped to catch the Republicans who would vote for Harrison. Many agents were really in Republican pay as each one won over from the Democrats counted one half a vote for Harrison.

From the *Sentinel* October 30 came the following warning: "Men like Dorsey will come to Indiana again as they came in 1880 and disburse \$400,000 in the Denison house parlors to be used in buying votes, hiring repeaters, bribing election officers to stuff ballot-boxes and falsify election returns. You know that there are men in high office because they connive at such crimes and it is no secret that men honored by party are honored mainly because they aided the escape of arrested felons who were hired to come from other States to violate the election laws of Indiana." This warning to the voters was run in large print on the first page. The article then told of the coming of Mr. Dudley. "Dudley is coming" became almost as common a refrain as the same news about the Campbells. "A re-cast of the plotters of 1880 is on the bill-board of the Slick Six, with Dudley as the star in Dorsey's original soap act, at the New Denison for one week only. This company of trained ballot-box defilers has been reinforced by Rathbone, the Cincinnati election bully, and John Jarrett, the juggler of workingmen's votes, of great experience."

Many copies of the *National Tribune* had been circulated in Indiana. It was professed to be published in the interest of the old soldiers but the Democrats said it "really was the organ of the ring that robs the government with one hand and applicants for pensions with the other."

The *Sentinel* of October 31 threw the Republican camp into a panic. In large scare-head capitals ran—"The Plot to Buy Indiana.—Dudley's Scheme of the Wholesale Bribery Re-

vealed In a Circular Letter Over His Own Signature.—The 'Floaters' To Be Divided Into 'Blocks of Five'.—Every 'Block' to be Put in Charge of a 'Trusted Man' with 'Necessary Funds'.—He to See that 'None Get Away', and that 'All Vote Our Ticket'.—The 'Best Business Men' to be Used as Stalking Horses.—Threats that 'Some One Will Get Hurt' if New York goes Democratic.—A Case for the 'Fair Election League' and the 'Committees of One Hundred,' Then came Dudley's letter. It was set in the form of a circular typewritten letter, bearing the autograph signature of William W. Dudley, National Republican treasurer, to the chairman of a Republican county central committee in Indiana, and doubtless to other county chairmen and to the trusted agents of the Republican managers throughout the State. The following letter was produced in fac-simile.

HEADQUARTERS REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, 91 Fifth Avenue, New York, Oct. 29, 1888.

Dear Sir:—I hope you have kept copies of the lists sent me. Such information is very valuable and can be used to great advantage. It has enabled me to demonstrate to friends here that with proper assistance Indiana is surely Republican for Governor and President, and has resulted, as I hoped it would, in securing for Indiana the aid necessary. Your committee will certainly receive from Chairman Huston the assistance necessary to hold our floaters and doubtful voters, and gain enough of the other kind to give Harrison and Morton 10,000 plurality. New York is now safe beyond peradventure for the Republican presidential ticket; Connecticut likewise. In short every Northern State, except possibly New Jersey, though we still hope to carry that State. Harrison's majority in the Electoral College will not be less than 100. Make our friends in each precinct wake up to the fact that only boodle and fraudulent votes and false counting of returns can beat us in the State. Write each of your precinct correspondents, 1st, to find who has Democratic boodle, and steer the Democratic workers to them, and make them pay big prices for their own men. Second scan the election officers closely, and make sure to have no man on the Board whose integrity is even questionable, and insist on Republicans watching every moment of the election officers. Third, see that our workers know every voter entitled to a vote, and let no one else offer to vote. Fourth, divide the floaters into blocks of five and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket. Fifth, make a personal appeal to your best business men to pledge themselves to devote the entire day, Nov. 6, to work at the polls, i. e. to be present at the polls with tickets. They will be astonished to see how utterly dumbfounded the ordinary Democratic election bummer will be and how quickly he will disappear. The results

will fully justify the sacrifice of time and comfort, and will be a source of satisfaction afterwards to those who help in this way. Lay great stress on this last matter. It will pay.

There will be no doubt of your receiving the necessary assistance through the National, State and County Committees,—only see that it is husbanded and made to produce results. I rely on you to advise your precinct correspondents, and urge them to unremitting and constant efforts from now till the polls close, and the result is announced officially. We will fight for a fair election here if necessary. The Rebel crew can't steal this election from us as they did in 1884, without someone getting hurt. Let every Republican do his whole duty and the country will pass into Republican hands, never to leave it, I trust. Thanking you again for your efforts to assist me in my work, I remain

Yours sincerely, W. W. DUDLEY.

Please wire me results in principal precincts and county.

The consternation created by this letter can well be imagined. That Dudley would sign his name to such a document was almost unbelievable, but Dudley was a bold man. The lists referred to in the letter were lists of floaters or purchaseable voters. The traffic in votes was open and frank just as if they were legitimate merchandise. The Republicans especially were excited by the letter. Some were for denying it and calling it forgery. The wiser ones argued that it would be better to repudiate Dudley. J. W. Huston, the Republican State chairman, wrote to the papers saying that Dudley had nothing to do with the management of the Indiana campaign and that he knew nothing of any intention on Dudley's part to address a letter to anyone in Indiana. Dudley himself denied the letter as a base forgery.

At the same time that this letter appeared a statement of Hon. John C. New to the Omaha Republican was made public. New said that a complete poll of the voters of Indiana had been taken and that the Republican managers knew just how big the float was. Also that they could be depended upon not to loose any of that element.⁹

Indianapolis Democrats claimed that after they had spotted the imported negroes the Republicans opened up a new scheme; Cincinnati repeaters were being brought in for Marion county.

The *Sentinel* of October 2 made known its offer of \$1000 to Mr. Dudley if he would come to Indianapolis and swear that he did not

⁹ Omaha Republican, September 27, 1888.

write the letter. Dudley made no defense beyond the details as copied by the *New York Sun* and *Times*.

November 4, warrant was issued by the United States authorities for the arrest of Mr. Dudley. On the same day Chairman Jewett received a telegram from Senator Calvin S. Brice of New York. It stated that a number of New York citizens, moved by the Dudley letter, had resolved to place \$20,000 at the disposal of the committee for the vigorous prosecution of every man in Indiana who would practice Dudley's methods.

Through the *Sentinel* Mr. Jewett offered \$5000 for the conviction of Dudley on a bribery charge or for inducing others to bribe the voters of Indiana. In addition \$1000 each for five others conspiring or confederating to bribe according to the plan set forth in Dudley's letter, was offered, and \$100 each for not to exceed one hundred persons who should bribe or attempt to bribe as per plan.

The Republicans attempted to draw attention from the Dudley affair by spreading the story that the Democrats intended to work the double ticket plan all over the State on election day.

November 3, three days before the election Chairman Jewett predicted the State safe for Cleveland and Hendricks by a larger plurality than in 1884. But Mr. Jewett was badly mistaken as the following table of the Indiana returns will show.¹⁰

Counties	President		Governor	
	Harrison	Cleveland	Hovey	Matson
Adams	1277	2936	1284	2929
Allen	5455	9692	5443	9685
Bartholomew	2742	3109	2730	3113
Benton	1626	1425	1629	1424
Blackford	1141	1232	1138	1233
Boone	3441	3324	3441	3320
Brown	661	1538	662	1534
Carrol	2607	2560	2608	2560
Cass	3822	4221	3818	4206
Clark	3206	3788	3202	3794
Clay	3711	3773	3743	3771
Clinton	3519	3278	3518	3276
Crawford	1445	1628	1447	1628
Davies	2691	2689	2692	2698
Dearborn	2648	3531	2645	3534
Decatur	2663	2400	2660	2398
DeKalb	2879	3160	2875	3148

¹⁰ Indiana State Journal, November 21 and December 5, 1888.

<i>Counties</i>	<i>President</i>		<i>Governor</i>	
	Harrison	Cleveland	Hovey	Matson
Delaware	4227	2368	4220	2371
Dubois	1220	2986	1221	2984
Elkhart	4955	4464	4962	4449
Fayette	1953	1471	1948	1476
Floyd	2947	3824	2938	3834
Fountain	2608	2525	2610	2526
*Franklin	1712	2872	1713	2874
Fulton	2053	2163	2048	2162
Gibson	2953	2721	2946	2723
Grant	3929	2990	3918	2982
Greene	2934	2659	2920	2665
Hamilton	3599	2412	3595	2404
Hancock	1986	2376	1985	2380
Harrison	2133	2529	2134	2526
Hendricks	3297	2083	3286	2079
Henry	3849	2277	3844	2284
Howard	3604	2002	3599	2197
Huntington	3559	3481	3567	3474
Jackson	2263	3235	2264	3235
Jasper	1604	1003	1602	1002
Jay	2811	2741	2810	2741
Jefferson	3321	2700	3313	2708
Jennings	2057	1598	2051	1603
Johnson	2168	2594	2159	2602
Knox	2922	3621	2913	3627
Kosciusko	4147	3081	4139	3080
Lagrange	2262	1516	2256	1506
Lake	2543	2068	2544	2072
Laporte	3722	4607	3746	4587
Lawrence	2356	1814	2225	1813
Madison	3436	3928	3436	3928
Marion	17139	17515	17021	17619
Marshall	2582	3188	2587	3190
Martin	1391	1558	1394	1555
Miami	3042	3492	3032	3495
Monroe	2054	1815	2050	1819
Montgomery	4011	3763	4006	3773
Morgan	2500	2077	2488	2080
Newton	1283	860	1282	841
Noble	3026	2979	3011	2993
Ohio	726	585	725	588
Orange	1779	1654	1778	1656
Owen	1632	1918	1625	1926
Parke	2764	2159	2772	2151
Perry	1974	2007	1976	2007

<i>Counties</i>	<i>President</i>		<i>Governor</i>	
	<i>Harrison</i>	<i>Cleveland</i>	<i>Hovey</i>	<i>Matson</i>
Pike	2197	2098	2209	2091
Porter	2427	2018	2427	2011
Posey	2369	2684	2411	2641
Pulaski	1223	1446	1220	1446
Putnam	2570	3016	2555	3024
Randolph	4629	2256	4628	2249
Ripley	2404	2381	2404	2381
Rush	2713	2292	2700	2299
Scott	743	1030	742	1030
Shelby	2877	3409	2879	3412
Spencer	2733	2685	2736	2684
Starke	834	904	833	904
Steuben	2352	1348	2351	1347
St. Joseph	4929	5257	4921	5256
Sullivan	1902	3382	1905	3377
Switzerland	1560	1637	1562	1629
Tippecanoe	5072	4281	5058	4287
Tipton	2042	2370	2038	2373
Union	1108	868	1104	864
Vanderburg	6027	5889	6109	5846
Vermillion	1730	1438	1733	1435
Vigo	6273	6102	6265	6106
Wabash	3986	2555	3985	2558
Warren	1847	1017	1845	1019
Warrick	2361	2557	2375	2551
Wayne	6138	3653	6132	3651
Washington	1847	2389	1847	2397
Wells	1926	2942	1915	2939
White	1942	2017	1943	2021
Whitley	2133	2325	2129	2320
Total	263,361	261,013	263,194	261,003

Of the ninety-two counties of Indiana, forty-two went for Cleveland and fifty for Harrison. Hovey carried forty-nine counties and Matson forty-three. Hovey's vote was 263,194 and Matson's 261,003, making a Republican plurality of 2191. It will be noticed that the Democrats carried Marion county. Cleveland's plurality there was 376 and Matson's 598. The Democrats carried both houses of the Legislature by large majorities. By excellent gerrymandering they also elected ten of the thirteen Congressmen as follows:

District	Rep. Candidate	Dem. Candidate	Rep.	Dem.	Rep. Plurality	Dem. Plurality
1	Posey	Parrett	20627	20647	....	20
2	Braxton	O'Neill	16653	18537	....	1884
3	Sayles	Brown	15198	18272	....	3074
4	Wilson	Holman	16167	16905	....	738
5	Duncan	Cooper	17506	18210	....	704
6	Browne	Morris	23424	14302	9122	....
7	Chandler	Bynum	25500	27227	....	1727
8	Johnston	Brookshire	23084	23153	....	69
9	Cheadle	McCabe	24717	20267	4450	....
10	Owen	Zimmerman	19546	18390	1156	....
11	Steele	Martin	21900	22375	....	475
12	White	McCellan	19028	20139	....	1111
13	Hoynes	Shively	21206	21561	....	355
			264,556	259,986	14,728	10,157

After the election the Democrats had little to say. They admitted defeat but were not discouraged and said that the fact that the Republican candidate was from Indiana was a tower of strength to the opposition. Not that any voted for him from "state pride" feeling but many expected favors in the way of offices, etc.

Harrison ran little if any ahead of the Republican State ticket. His own county went Democratic and his own precinct ran behind the Republican State ticket.

HINDOSTAN—A PIONEER TOWN OF MARTIN COUNTY

BY CARLOS T. McCARTY, Attorney-at-Law, Shoals, Indiana.

[This was an address delivered at an Old Settlers' Meeting held at Hindostan, Martin County, Indiana, August 22, 1913.]

When President Madison took his oath of office on March 4, 1809, he was confronted with danger of a war with England and also with the fact that Tecumseh and his brother, The Prophet, were organizing the Indians of this portion of the United States for war with the whites. November seventh, 1811, the battle of Tippecanoe was fought and the Indians were defeated. Within a few months the first guns of the War of 1812 sounded and the Indians, allied with the British, assumed a hostile attitude. On March 27, 1814, at Tallapoosa, Alabama, Andrew Jackson defeated the red men so signally that they were not troublesome thereafter, and this was followed in December, 1814, by the signing of the treaty of Ghent, which declared the war at an end.

In the meantime several small settlements had been made in the southwestern part of Indiana. At Vallonia, in Jackson county, there had been a French trading post for many years and in 1813 an iron furnace was operated there. At Vincennes was an old settlement and also at Clarksville, near the Falls of the Ohio. A trail from Clarksville to Vincennes crossed the river here at Hindostan. The close of the War of 1812 and the cessation of hostilities with the Indians caused a decided movement from the East to the fertile regions of southern Indiana. There had been some land entered in this county [Martin] prior to that and a ferry had been established at the point where Houghton's bridge now crosses White river. The land there, the tract just north of the present highway and on the west side of the river, was the first land entered from the United States in this country. It was selected by General Washington Johnson, a soldier of the revolution, and postmaster at Vincennes, and he took out his certificate of entry for it June 2, 1807. It was at this place that William McGowan was treacherously shot by Shawnee Indians in the spring of 1812. With the general advance-

ment from the East there came several parties to the region now embraced in the boundaries of Martin county. Frederick Sholts located here at Hindostan and October 20, 1814, entered from the Government the land on which we are now standing.

At that time there were two other settlements made in this county. Like the one at Hindostan they were both made on the river. At Mt. Pleasant, Phillip Davis, Cager Peek, the Summers and Hunt families, Barney and John Riley, and James and William Lamar had found homes.

At the present site of Shoals the same year, Clement Horsey located and the following year James Stephens and William Daugherty opened farms on the west side of the river where the town of West Shoals now stands. In 1816 Joel Halbert, Daniel Piles, John Cox, L. Trover, Stephen P. Stringham, Harvey Manning, James Lewis, and Moses Norman located near Clement Horsey. It was thus the conditions were in that early day. Settlements of several families then were at the present site of Shoals and Mt. Pleasant, and Frederick Sholts at Hindostan. This was then a portion of Knox county. In 1816 Daviess county was formed and it embraced what is now known as Martin county. By the year 1818 a community of several families was located here at Hindostan. Among them being Joseph Clements, John Prentiss, Henry Prentiss, Thomas Prentiss, George Harris, the Shelmire family and Thomas Brooks. These people seem to have constituted the real bone and sinew of Martin county. For we find that in March 1819 they evidently had in contemplation the building of a town here at the falls. On the third day of that month Frederick Sholts sold a three fourths interest in the land on which Hindostan was afterward laid out and two lots, being lots 12 and 24 in Greenwich, to John Meriam. Greenwich was the first town laid out at the falls and was on the opposite side of the river. The date of its plat, like that of Hindostan, is unknown. However, it is certain that Hindostan was platted between March 13, 1819, and May 29, 1819, for on the latter date a deed was executed conveying lots in Hindostan and designating them as such.¹

¹ The following notice concerning Hindostan is taken from the diary of W. Faux, who passed over the Trace in 1819 on his way to visit the Birkbeck Settlement in southern Illinois.

"October 29, 1819. Breakfasted at an infant ville, Hindostan, on the falls of White river, a broad, crystal stream, running navigable to the Ohio, over a bed of sand and stone, smooth and white as a floor of marble. The baby ville is flourishing, much building is in progress, and promises to become a pleasant healthy town before I see it again. The land, too, is rich and inviting. I now crossed White river in my chariot."—*Editor*.

The town flourished. The country was developing rapidly. Danger from Indians was about over. The woods were still the lurking place of wolves and panthers but the hardy pioneer paid little attention to these animals. In speaking of this ever present peril it may be interesting to note one event which tradition has handed down concerning the wolves in this vicinity. It is said that near Hindostan, on one of the farms that was being hewed out of the wilderness, lived a man, his wife, and their infant child. The man was a true pioneer, jovial, entertaining, and a good fiddler. His services were ever in demand at the dances which were given by the early settlers. One night he was called to go to Hindostan to furnish music for a dance. Taking with him his violin he left home in the early evening and wended his way through the forest to the then flourishing town. Here all was brightness and joy. The tallow dips furnished light, the maidens were dressed in their best, their backwood beaux came clad in their holiday attire. The music rang through the trees. The whole town was present and a night of revelry and fun lay before them. Back in the forest, miles from the nearest neighbor, the wife and child awaited the coming of the night. Sitting in the door of the cabin, for it was early autumn and the days were yet warm, the mother crooned a lullaby to her babe and as it sank into sleep laid it in the crude cradle. Still singing she took up her evening tasks. The cow was milked. The backlog was placed on the fireplace and covered with ashes. It was too warm to need the blaze for its cheer, but matches were unknown, the flint and steel uncertain, and the pioneer wife kept fire in the fireplace ready for use. Seeing that the house was safe she went to the poultry house to close it that a few chickens might not be devoured by the roaming foxes and other predacious animals. Just as she closed the poultry house door a wolf darted into the clearing. It was followed by another, and another. They discovered the defenceless woman and bounded toward her their cruel fangs showing white in the twilight. Fearing to seek shelter in the cabin lest the wolves should thus be attracted to the open door of her home she hastily entered the chicken house and closed the door behind her. The wolves, as is the custom with such brutes, feeling that their prey was surrounded sat down and began howling. The night came on apace. Yet the babe slept calmly on while the terror stricken mother, safe herself, was powerless to fly to her child. Suddenly

clear and shrill, on the quivering air came the cry of the child. The wolves listened a moment and broke for the cabin. The helpless mother sank to the ground in an agony of fear, it seemed that her cup of tribulation was filled to the brim. Without weapons she could not attack the wolves. Indeed the interval was too short for her to more than breathe a prayer to the throne above. Almost as the words casting upon the Father the care for her child left her lips was her petition, uttered in extremest agony, answered. As the foremost wolf bounded into the cabin door the backlog of the fireplace rolled over and the cabin was filled with a burst of light from the newly kindled fire. Halting, the wolves slunk back and turned again to the forest. The mother rushed to the cabin and closing the door behind her seized her child and again a petition went up on the night air to the all-hearing ear. This time it was a prayer of thankfulness. The mother and her child were safe. When the father returned he endeavored to explain the miracle by saying that the vibrations caused by the feet of the wolves as they struck the puceon floor caused the backlog to turn. But the mother lived, and when full of years passed into eternity, confident that it was in answer to her prayer that her child was saved.

But to come back from tradition to history which is written. Shortly after the Hindostan company, as the organization was officially known, was formed, the men composing it became interested in the formation of a new county. They felt that Daviess Co. was too large and consequently they secured an act of the Legislature creating Martin county. The county was organized January 17, 1820. Even the organization of a new county did not appease these pioneers. They next wanted the county seat located at their new town of Hindostan. That they were entitled to it was their boast. The only store within the boundary of the county had been opened at Hindostan by John, Henry and Thomas Prentiss and the Shelmires. Mills were being builded for grinding wheat and corn and carding wool. There was a ferry established connecting the town of Hindostan with the town of Greenwich. People were coming in and settling. Everything was booming, to use a modern phrase. So, within two months after the formation of the county these business men of a century ago proposed to give for the location of the county seat the square known as courthouse square; the Seminary square; one half the square south of Seminary square;

160 acres of land adjoining the town plat on the north and five thousand dollars in cash. In addition they were to purchase for use on the courthouse a three hundred dollar bell. There were but two provisions or conditions attached to their offer. The first was that the courthouse square should be used for nothing but courthouse purposes. The second that of the money donated and that received from the sale of the donated real estate ten per centum should be set aside to establish a public library. This instrument, which is of record in the courthouse at Shoals, shows that the founders of Hindostan were not only business men who proposed doing things when they started, but that they were equally interested in educational matters as one full square was designated to be used for school purposes and ten per cent of all funds to go to establish a public library. Their offer was accepted and it was decided that the courthouse should be located at Hindostan. June 5 of that year the contract for the courthouse was let to Benj. Adams for \$4,185 and the following day Matthias Sholts received the contract to erect a jail for the sum of \$1,368.79. The meeting of the board of commissioners which accepted the offer of the proprietors of Hindostan was held March 27, 1820 at the house of Joseph D. Clements in Hindostan. The county commissioners were Matthias Sholts, John Meriam, and George Mitcheltree.

It is interesting in this connection to note the method of doing county business in those days. One of the matters determined at that meeting of the county board was tavern keepers' rates. On the twenty-ninth of March the board determined that the rate should be as follows: Keeping horse one night 62½¢; one horse feed 12½¢; one lodging 12½¢; one meal 37½¢; each half pint of whiskey 12½¢; each half pint of French brandy or other foreign distilled spirits 62½¢; for distilled spirits of domestic manufacture 37½¢. Think what an uproar would be the result if the commissioners of Martin county at their next session should endeavor to regulate prices in this method. But our forefathers were of sturdy stock. They did not have so much law to confront them as we now have.

They were, as a usual matter, honest, trustworthy, brave, diligent. The housewife shared with the husband the burdens of the day. She, too, must be brave and resourceful. She must be quick to think and equally quick to act. Take the tragedy over on the west bank of the river in the spring of 1812. The ferryman, McGowan,

and his wife lived alone in their little cabin. They were peaceable and industrious. The traveler passing from New Albany to Vincennes or returning home again was always met by them with ready help. They would assist him across the river and bid him God speed in his journey through the wilderness. One evening in the springtime McGowan was sitting in the shade on the east side of his cabin. There were no travellers needing assistance. As he sat there, in peace with his surroundings, an Indian, one of a small marauding party, fired from this side of the river and the bullet pierced his body. Then did the true heroism of that pioneer woman whom he had taken to be his wife assert itself. No aid was nearer than the small settlement at Maysville, twenty miles away, on the West fork of the river. She assisted the stricken man, partially carrying and partially dragging him, into the cabin. She barred the door and closed the window. Then she sat beside her loved one and watched his lifeblood ebb away. As night came on he became weaker and before midnight passed into that realm from which no traveller ever returns. Closing the eyes and gently arranging the body of her slain helpmate for its last long repose, Mrs. McGowan left her home, now desolate, and going to the field caught the horse. She mounted and rode away through the darkness for help that her dead might have christian burial. On through the night she rode. Ever and anon the shrill shriek of a panther would quaver through the air. But on and on she rode until at break of day she had reached the Maysville settlement. Then she returned, accompanied by several sorrowing friends, and ere long the last sad rites were over. Of such firm material were our pioneer mothers made. They have passed on into the land of shadows. But their example remains.

This session of the county commissioners also fixed the tax rate for the year. A gold watch was to be taxed 50c; a silver one 37½c; oxen 25c; horses 37½c; first class land 50c per hundred acres, second class land 43¾c per hundred acres; third class land 31¼c per hundred acres; poll tax was fixed at 50c.

On March 17, 1820 the first circuit court for Martin county was opened at the house of Joseph D. Clements in Hindostan. Johathan Doty was presiding judge and Ezekiel Porter and Frederick Sholts were associate justices. The first business was the issuing of a writ to ascertain what damages would occur by the erection of a mill on

Beaver creek near the present site of the town of Huron.² The petitioner was Charles R. Brown. The county officers then, other than those who have been heretofore named, were Thomas G. Prentiss, clerk and recorder; Julius Johnson, sheriff; John P. Porter, prosecuting attorney.

Now that a town had been established, the county seat located there, stores opened, mills erected, and all the necessary groundwork for a thriving municipality prepared the men who had pushed into existence this city of the wilderness felt that it was time for them to seek reward for their labors.

Consequently the Hindostan company disbanded. The promoters divided, by what is termed in the record a partner's deed, the town lots and lands among themselves. This deed is dated May 15, 1820, and shows that those who had brought into being a town here on the banks of the river were: Frederick Sholts, Caleb Fellows, John Meriam, John M. Prentiss, Gordon Newell, Thomas G. Prentiss, Wm. Gardiner and Jesse Shelmire. Upon the division of lots being made between the partners each proceeded to sell to those who had been attracted to the new town. The records in the recorder's office indicate that there was a vast amount of dealing in town lots and that people came from all parts of the East to cast their future lot with the Proprietors of the Town of Hindostan.

Hindostan was at this time in the full vigor and growth of a lusty young frontier town. The mills and business houses were far in advance of anything in Southern Indiana outside Vincennes and New Albany. There were other towns in existence. Vallonia was a trading post; Brownstown had been laid out in the spring of 1815; Orleans and Paoli had been established as towns in 1816; Palestine was the county seat of Lawrence county, having been laid out in 1817. Hindostan was in touch with them all but it was outgrowing them all. No internal improvements, such as canals or railroads were yet in existence and the choice of Frederick Sholts and his associates in selecting the falls of the river here as the location for their future city seemed to be a most wise one.

But about 1826 or 1827, the exact date is unknown, the hand of fate closed down on the thriving city. The street echoed to the wail of Rachel weeping for her children. The death angel stalked abroad. The cemetery, on yonder hillside, grew faster than the

² Located on the B. and O. railroad east of Shoals.—*Editor.*

town, here in the valley. The time was a terrible one. There was no resident physician, hence we have no positive account as to the character of the malady which swept from the face of the earth the town of Hindostan. We do know, from tradition, and from fragmentary records which can be pieced and interwoven together, that the toll of death was heavy. It is said that here were more dead than living within the bounds of the town at times. And the forefathers of the town were gathered to their fathers and all slept together in the bosom of Mother Earth.

The situation became so extreme that relief was sought at the hands of the Legislature and in 1828 an act was passed authorizing the removal of the seat of Justice of Martin county from Hindostan. This act was rushed through the session in its early days and was approved January 24, 1828 (it being one of the very first laws enacted).

At that time Mt. Pleasant was showing some improvement. As its name indicates it was situated on the summit of one of the river hills, Hindostan was in the valley. The fell disease which was decimating Hindostan was passing Mt. Pleasant by unscathed. The general awakening which was occurring over the entire frontier had reached Mt. Pleasant. There was a carding machine there, operated by Whitfield Force and there was also a cotton gin. For in that early day the citizens of this country wore not only home-grown and home-made woolen and flax garments but were also clad in cotton clothing the cotton for which was raised on these hillsides. On March 14, 1828, came the beginning of the final scene for Hindostan. On that day at a called session of the board of commissioners William Hoggat, Simon Morgan, John Murphy, and Friend Spears, commissioners chosen by the Legislature to relocate the county seat of Martin county, reported that they had determined to locate it at Mt. Pleasant. On the 7th of July 1828, the commissioners, still meeting at Hindostan, ordered the clerk and treasurer to remove their offices at once to Mt. Pleasant. On September 1, 1828, the commissioners met for their first session at Mt. Pleasant and the sun had set for Hindostan.

Thus was the town builded, thus did it flourish, and thus did an unkind fate cut it off in the full strength and prime of its youth. But it was not stricken from the memory of man. There yet lingers round its ancient bounds the story of its existence. Its builders

have all, long since, left this mundane sphere and taken their places in that city eternal, that celestial community which can never, never be effaced by death or pestilence. There, with the mothers who left home and comfort in the East to penetrate the wilderness and help found a State, they are resting. Their battle is over, their victory is won. It remains for us to do them honor and ourselves good by seeking to live up to all that was best in them and in our day and age to show equal energy and courage in perpetuating the government and country for our descendants on as noble a plane as they who founded Hindostan left it on for those who followed them.³

* Hindostan was not the only town in Indiana visited by these epidemics. A similar story comes down concerning Rising Sun, Madison, New Albany, Vincennes, Salem, Indianapolis and many others. Palestine the county seat of Lawrence county suffered the same fate as Hindostan.—*Editor*.

SUGGESTIONS FOR USING THE INDIANA HIGH SCHOOL TEXT BOOKS IN HISTORY

By Oscar H. Williams, A.M., School of Education, Indiana University.

The recent Indiana textbook law imposed a serious task upon the State Board of Education, in requiring that body to adopt uniform text books for secondary schools. Experience with uniform textbooks in the elementary schools of the State had demonstrated the grave difficulty in fitting a single textbook to the widely varying needs of different types of school communities. It was with some misgivings that educational leaders faced the problem of adapting single texts to the high schools. The State Board did credit to its own judgement by calling into its counsel for the eight principal subjects, a series of advisory committees composed of experienced high school and college teachers. To the teachers on these committees, individually and collectively, fell the task of examining in detail the books submitted by the publishers. Their recommendations, made jointly and severally, formed the basis of selection and adoption by the Board. To the credit of the State Board be it said that the reports of the committees and teachers were followed consistently throughout.

In the case of the advisory committee on History and Civics, it went a step beyond its instructions and indicated first preference in every field. This was done because the committee felt there was an appreciable difference among even the "first three" books which it had been requested to name. With a single exception these books were accepted by the Board. Thus the real responsibility for selecting these books rests chiefly with the committee of seven teachers of history.

It is the purpose of the writer to characterize, in a concise and helpful way, the books in History now in use in all of the high schools of the State, and to point out ways of using them to best advantage.

I THE ANCIENT WORLD

Hutton Webster's *Ancient History* came to the committee fresh from the press. It had strong and attractive competitors, some of them tried and tested by use in many Indiana high schools. But this book presented features so striking and original as to find favor at once. Its selection followed as a matter of course, though some criticism was heard of the choice of an untried book. Use and experience have, we think, fully demonstrated the wisdom of the choice.

Among the distinctive and original qualities of this book is its mode of treating the Ancient World as an essential unity.. Its method of handling the Oriental background is a case in point. In a concise political outline, a well-arranged chapter marshals in review the successive empires of the East. Then comes a full rich chapter giving an admirable survey of the common characteristics of the civilization of the East. Where important, distinguishing features peculiar to each people of the Oriental World are touched upon, but the traits and characteristics common to them all are given greatest stress. Thus the traditional plan of treating separately the civilization of each nation is here departed from and a far less confused understanding of Oriental life is the result. A clear and unified impression of Oriental beginnings of civilized life is the net return to the student.

In similar fashion, the classical peoples of antiquity are dealt with, not as wholly separate and distinct nations, but as two aspects of one civilization. In the first place, the geography of Europe and of the Mediterranean World is treated as a unit. The lands of Italy and Greece find proper setting in the larger whole. Then the political narrative of the Greeks and the Romans, though carried separately until 146 B. C., is properly merged after that date. But most striking is the treatment of the private antiquities and the art of both Greeks and Romans in the last two chapters. Side by side are set forth the essential features of the life and culture of the two peoples. This mode of dealing with the subject makes possible those fruitful comparisons and parallels which render history significant and illuminating. It also avoids useless repetition of common characteristics and qualities, leaves a clear understanding of what the Ancient World essentially was, and gives a substantial foundation for a study of the life today.

An interesting introductory chapter, on "The Ages Before History," sets out the primitive beginnings of human culture. Here the children get a first glimpse of their original forbears and discover the first human gropings for light and progress. The study of this subject gives something of a sense of the long road which the race has travelled. Interest in the history of the race is here first kindled in the children. The subject should be made as vivid and pictorial as possible. Pictures, objects, reading selected passages from scientific works are valuable stimulants. A chapter read from Jack London's *Before Adam* will lend dramatic effect and heighten interest.

In presenting the peoples of the East, only the outstanding features of their life and civilization should receive attention. To dwell long upon shadowy characters is unprofitable. The succession of empires, the approximate time of each, a brief view of their interrelations, is sufficient. But the cultural elements should be studied in some detail.

In like manner, a clear outline of the political narrative of Greece and Rome is essential, but the features of their life and culture, their contributions to civilization, what each achieved for humanity, are more important. Greece in her best days, Athens in the time of Pericles, has much to teach later ages in art and philosophy, in an efficient democracy, and in her failure at Empire. Rome in her might and majesty, the imperial regime in the first two centuries, also have much to tell later ages of administration of empire, of problems of defense, of assimilation of alien peoples. It is the pages which dwell upon these aspects that deserve intensive study. Others may be passed by lightly.

A word as to the character and use of the teaching "aids." Classified reference lists, at the head of each chapter, point the way to standard supplementary works and illustrative literature. Teachers will find reliable and generally serviceable books cited. They will do well to build up the departmental or school library in accordance with these lists. Where but one copy of a reference book can be supplied, such book will serve for individual reading and special report. The "Studies" following each chapter provide stimulating exercises carrying the pupils further into the subject than the matter of the text. They may serve as a stimulus to the supplementary reading. The index and pronouncing vocabulary is a

valuable adjunct. Its constant use in a field where difficult names and "alien terms" abound will be obvious. Pupils should be habituated in its use by practice and exercise. The numerous pictures are real sources and should in many cases receive detailed study. Colored maps for reference, maps in black and white for portraying simple ideas, deserve careful study in connection with the text. Chapter divisions will serve to determine lesson units.

On the whole teachers of history in the high schools are fortunate to have so serviceable a book for beginners.

II EUROPEAN HISTORY

Professor Harding's *New Medieval and Modern History* appeared just in time to be considered by the advisory committee and the State Board. The earlier *Essentials* was already in quite common use in high schools of the State. In a twofold sense the title of the book is appropriate. In the first place, the author tells us the book is something more than a revision of the *Essentials*; "it is practically a new work." Secondly, in its treatment of subject matter it is an exemplification of the "new history." Emphasis is given, not to military and political details, but to social, economic, and cultural phases.

In conformity with the established tendency, stress has been placed on the factors which have gone into the making of the Europe of to-day. One-half the text is devoted to Europe since 1648, one-fourth since 1789, one-fourth since 1815. Perhaps the distinctive feature is the elaboration of recent and contemporary movements in the Old World. It is brought down to the hour. The chapter dealing with the Eastern Question reviews the preliminary articles signed by the powers at the London Conference, May 30, 1913, and describes the fighting in the Balkans in July following. The chapter on the world in revolution gives a survey of the world-wide movement for democracy in the opening years of the twentieth century. Recent advances in Science and in Social Organization are treated lucidly in the closing chapter.

Medieval history is treated institutionally. Feudalism in theory and practice, is analyzed with marked clearness. Even its complexities are made clear by diagram and map. The Medieval Church has an admirable chapter. Two rich chapters are devoted to the

Life and Culture of the Middle Ages. The political narrative, though appearing in the contest of Empire and Papacy, is ever subordinate to institutional growth.

The Modern period is dealt with after the usual manner of great international epochs. The Reformation and resulting religious wars, the age of Louis XIV, the era of European rivalries, the French Revolution and Napoleonic regime, all find their true perspective in the pages of this book. The "wonderful nineteenth century" comes in for its share of attention. The Industrial Revolution, with its transforming achievements in agriculture, transportation, and manufacturing, and its spread throughout the civilized world, is handled in a most illuminating way. The story of the growth of national spirit and organization in Germany and Italy of social and political reformation in Great Britain, is interestingly told.

The treatment throughout is pictorial and concrete. Where possible, types are employed to embody general ideas and institutions. The medieval castle is exemplified by Arques and Chateau Gaillard, an earlier and later type. St. Gall illustrates graphically a medieval monastery. Paris stands for the Universities of the Middle Ages. The style is usually interesting and often full of color. Witness the account of the battle of Hastings: "Three horses were killed under William, but he received no injury. Once the cry went forth, 'The Duke is down!' and the Normans began to give way. But William tore off his helmet, that they might better see his face, and cried, 'I live, and by God's grace shall have the victory!'" Passages like this lighten the weary pages of history for youthful minds.

The aids and apparatus for teaching purposes are helpful and suggestive. Date lists appended to chapters are valuable for reference. "Suggestive topics" on each chapter are really stimulating problems. Search topics serve as a guide to the best reading. Directions for general reading point out for teacher as well as pupils the standard works on each subject. A table of the principal rulers and popes, arranged on the synchronistic plan, is of value for reference. A carefully prepared index, with pronouncing vocabulary, adds to the usefulness of the book. Of much help for teaching purposes is the division of chapters, by means of large headings, into convenient lesson units. For some schools, certain of these topics may be eliminated, others elaborated by collateral work.

No feature of the book is more instructive than the pictures. Selected with diligent care, they usually portray typical events and scenes, and represent characteristic sources. The frontispiece, for example, showing Isabella of England entering Paris to visit her brother Charles IV, of France, is at once full of life and color and represents the art of the medieval miniaturist. The pictures should come in for their share of detailed study. Notes on the pictures, explaining the subject and origin, facilitate their study as sources.

This is a textbook of marked excellences. Its serviceability depends much upon the power of the teacher to adapt the material to the students. Some of the topics should be touched lightly or eliminated entirely, others may be extended and more fully elaborated. Above all, time should be allotted for the rich and stimulating chapters at the close of the book.

III AMERICAN HISTORY

In considering the various books submitted in American History, the committee's choice fell upon a textbook which for some years had found favor among teachers of history. The authors of James and Sanford's *American History* belong to the Turner school of writers and students of the history of the West. Perhaps the feature which found greatest favor and commended the book to the committee was its marked emphasis upon the place of the West in the nation's development. The trend and significance of the westward movement are first touched upon in the account of the preliminaries to the struggle between France and England for the interior valleys. It is again brought out in the chapter devoted to the American Revolution, in the story of the founding of the mountain communities and their part in that struggle. The Old Northwest is given adequate space and surely for Indiana schools no subject is of greater importance. Again, the rise of the new West in the period immediately subsequent to the "Second war for Independence" is amply treated.

The European background is handled well at every point. Yet one wishes more justice had been done to the English side of the Revolution. The imperial trade policy of the mother country during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will have to be supplemented by considerable search beyond the text. French colonization might well have been given at least equal notice with Spanish.

Nearly two-thirds of the book is given to the national period. More than a fifth is devoted to the national growth and expansion since the Civil War. Social and economic questions fill a large place in these latter pages. Thus it fulfills the demand for greater attention to the origin of the great problems of to-day. As in the European textbook the best portion of the book is found in these later chapters and they should not be neglected.

The helps for teachers are fairly good. More maps are needed, fewer fac-simile documents and prints of contemporaneous maps might well have been employed. Topical references are good as far as they go. The teacher looks in vain for copies of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Ordinance of 1787. The greatest lack is attention to the physical setting. Geographical factors are almost entirely ignored. This important aspect must be introduced by the teacher.

On the whole, the Board has made wise choice in the selection of high school textbooks for the five year period. With such books the work should not only be of more uniform quality, but of distinctly higher standard than ever before.

CONSCRIPTION AND DRAFT IN INDIANA DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By Charles E. Canup, DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana.

To fill the depleted ranks of the northern armies, in the face of discouraging defeats and shaken confidence in their leaders, seemed to be not only a problem, but a herculean task as well, with which the administration was confronted during the period of the Civil war. It is the purpose in this short article to deal with this problem, which briefly stated was the draft situation. However, we will concern ourselves very little about conditions in the entire North, but will devote the time and space to a consideration of the draft in Indiana and the influence it had upon the other loyal States. But a brief survey of the various Conscription Acts of the National Government is necessary for a clear and full understanding of the condition of affairs in our native State.

Roughly speaking the work of conscription and draft may be divided into two parts. The first period began with the Conscription Act of July 17, 1862 and extended from that time until the passage of the Conscription Act of March 3, 1863. This may be designated as the period of the "State Draft" regulated by the National Government. The second period began with the passage of this latter act and covered the remainder of the time occupied by active operations in the field. This may be called the period of the "National Draft."

The Act of July 17, 1862 authorized the President to specify the period for which the service of drafted men was to be required. This service was not to exceed nine months. Moreover it provided that if there were any defects in the existing laws or in the execution of them which hampered the work of enrolling and otherwise putting this act into execution, the president was authorized to make all necessary rules and regulations regarding such. The enrolment of the militia was, in all cases, to include all able-bodied male citizens of the Union between the ages of eighteen and forty-five and was to be apportioned among the states according to their representative population.¹

¹ *Official War Records; Series III, Vol. II, p. 280.*

It may be observed that the above act specified that only "able-bodied male citizens" were to be included in the enrolment. Naturally we may infer that there were a number of legitimate excuses by which a man might be exempted. Such was the case. The rules and regulations for the exemption of those physically unfit were as follows:—

1. "Loss or imperfect vision of the right eye. 2. Loss of all the front teeth and enough of the molars to render mastication imperfect. 3. Large or frequent attacks of hemorrhoids; or chronic diarrhea. 4. Deformities which impair free motion of the limbs. 5. Loss of more than one finger of the right or more than two fingers of the left hand. 6. Large varicose veins above the knee. 7. Large or irreducible hernia. 8. All organic or functional diseases causing marked debility—heart disease, or organic diseases of the lungs."²

Besides the above legally adopted excuses there were of course others which, although not provided for by law, grew out of the arising complications and the necessities of the hour. These were provided for by the direct orders of Secretary of War, Stanton. The Governor, the judges of the various courts, such men as were absolutely necessary to carry on the governmental affairs within the State, drafting officers, telegraph operators, skilled workmen in gun factories, engineers and firemen on the railroads, and ministers of the Gospel in active charge of parishes were all exempt from military duty.³ This of course does not mean that none of the above exempted persons ever went to the front. No statistics are available on this point but it is very probable that quite a number from sheer force of patriotism responded to the call of their native State.

The first step requisite to drafting was the enrolment of all of the men in the State between the specified ages. This was provided for by the July Act and a plan of procedure was prepared by the secretary of war. Upon the approval of the war department this plan was modified by Governor Morton to meet the existing conditions within the State and the enrolment was subsequently made under the adopted plan which was as follows.

In the first place it provided for the appointment of a commissioner in each county, who was in turn required to appoint a

² *Western Christian Advocate*, Sept. 3, 1862; p. 281.

³ *Official War Records*; Series III, Vol. II, p. 512.

deputy in each township. The deputies were to take up the work of enrolment while the commissioners were to supervise. Secondly, two lists of names were to be made in each township; one for such persons as were actually engaged in the United State's service and the other for all resident male citizens between the prescribed ages. Third when completed these lists were to be returned on a fixed day to the commissioner of the county who then appointed a time when he and his deputies were to sit as a board and hear and determine all excuses. Notice of this day was then to be given and all persons desiring to be exempted were asked to present their names and excuses before the board convened. When all the exemptions had been marked off the lists were ready for the draft. Upon the completion of these lists, the commissioners of the several counties were required to send copies of them to the general commissioner at Indianapolis. These copies enabled him to determine the quota of men required from each township preparatory to ordering the draft.⁴

Soon after the passage of the July Act the work of enrolment began. It passed off for the most part satisfactorily and without any great trouble. There were, however, some difficulties encountered which gave rise to unavoidable imperfections, but these defects could not at the time be easily remedied and it gave reasonable satisfaction. After the enrolment had been completed it was found that the total militia force of the State was two hundred and nine thousand two hundred sixteen.⁵ This did not, however, include ninety-three thousand forty-one volunteers already in the service. Of the two hundred nine thousand two hundred sixteen enrolled, thirty-six thousand thirty-eight were exempted from military duty by the various causes mentioned above. This left in all a total of one hundred seventy-three thousand one hundred seventy-eight men subject to the draft and upon which the quotas of the State were based during this period.⁶

The manner and method of drafting is of unusual interest and it is perhaps advisable that something of this should be given here in order that the reader may get an idea of the magnitude of the undertaking which at this time was being conducted in almost every

⁴ Report of the Adjutant General of Indiana—W. H. H. Terrell, Vol. I, pp. 41-42. This will hereafter be referred to as *Terrell's Reports*.

⁵ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, Document 28, p. 188.

⁶ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, Document 28, p. 188.

State of the Union. Nevertheless it must not be inferred from the previous statement that all of the loyal States were subject to the draft of 1862, since only these States in arrears on their quotas exercised the use of the draft. Those which had filled them or had a surplus were exempt.

The commissioner for the county supervised the work of drafting in each of the several townships under his jurisdiction. The names of all persons who were liable to the draft in each township, respectively, were written on separate ballots. These ballots were carefully folded and placed in a wheel or box, from which a blindfolded person drew a number of ballots equal to the quota due from the township where the draft was being held. A notice was then served by the marshall upon the men whose names had been drawn, requiring them to report at the county seat within the next five days. From here transportation was furnished them to the general rendezvous, Camp Sullivan, at Indianapolis. Upon their arrival at the rendezvous any of them who wished to furnish a substitute were permitted to do so. The authorities were finally prevailed upon to extend the time for presenting substitutes to October 31. These substitutes were in all respects placed on the same footing with the drafted men.⁷

Probably by this time the reader is wondering whether it was absolutely necessary to draft soldiers in Indiana as early as 1862. We now know that it was not necessary, but owing to the inaccurate accounts of the troops furnished up to that time, it was then thought that the State was behind on her quotas. Since, however, it has been clearly demonstrated that the State had more than filled all of her quotas. Let us see then why Indiana was subject to this draft.

Under the call of July 18, 1862 for three hundred thousand men the quota for Indiana was twenty-one thousand two hundred fifty, and again under the call of August 4 for three hundred thousand militia, Indiana's quota was twenty-one thousand two hundred fifty, making in all a total of forty-two thousand five hundred men due from the State under these two calls. By Sept. 20 both of these quotas had been filled by volunteers except for six thousand sixty. At this time volunteering seemed to lag somewhat, but by Oct., 6, the day set for drafting, this number had been further reduced to three thousand three. On the other hand subsequent ad-

⁷ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, p. 48.

justments showed that the total number of troops actually due from Indiana prior to August 4 was sixty-four thousand seven hundred sixty-five, and that the number of troops furnished up to that time amounted to ninety-four thousand twenty-three. Thus it may be seen that the State had more than filled her quota at that time, having to her credit a surplus of twenty-nine thousand two hundred fifty-eight. As previously stated the quota under the call of August 4 was twenty-one thousand two hundred fifty. Hence deducting the quota of twenty-one thousand two hundred fifty from the surplus twenty-nine thousand two hundred fifty-eight, we have a remainder of eight thousand eight, the amount which Indiana was really ahead on her quota. Yet at that time, the enrollment of the militia and an examination of the best available data of troops previously furnished showed that out of the nine hundred sixty-nine townships in the State, three hundred thirty-four were actually in arrears on their quotas, while six hundred thirty-five were in excess of theirs or at least had filled them. And although the State was not indebted to the government for so much as a single man, yet three hundred and thirty-four of the townships were, and in order to equalize the burden it was thought that it was altogether fitting and proper that a draft should be held.⁸

Accordingly on October 6, 1862, the draft was held. Three thousand and three men were actually drafted. Two thousand one hundred eighty-three reported at the general rendezvous, Camp Sullivan, at Indianapolis.⁹ Upon their arrival, one thousand four hundred forty-one of this number enlisted voluntarily into old three year regiments or companies for twelve months service. Seven hundred forty-two were assigned as drafted men as follows: one company to the Fifty-seventh regiment of infantry; one company to the Eighty-third regiment of infantry; two companies to the First regiment of cavalry and about thirty men to the Ninety-ninth regiment of infantry.¹⁰ Three hundred ninety-six men were discharged for general disability and for the various causes enumerated above, while four hundred twenty-four failed to report at the rendezvous and were classed as deserters.¹¹

The second period, or the period of the National Draft, begins

⁸ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, p. 40-41.

⁹ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, Document 28, p. 190.

¹⁰ *Terrell's Report*; Vol. I, p. 44.

¹¹ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, Document 28, p. 190.

with the passage of the Conscription Act of March 3, 1863. In this some changes were made causing it to differ somewhat from the Act of July 17, 1862, the most notable of which was that it was made more thorough and more far reaching than the previous act had been. It also differed from the first in that it was nation-wide while the other was conducted by the different States. In order to show to a better advantage how it differed from the old, the main provisions of the new law will be given here.

The latter conscription act was made to include all able-bodied men of the Union as well as persons of foreign birth who had signified their intentions of becoming citizens of the United States. It also included all persons discharged from the service who had not served at least two years during the existing war.¹² By the same provision of this law all men between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five were included except such as were later exempted. This act also divided the reserve forces into two classes. The first class included all of the enrolled men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five, and thirty-five and forty-five. The second class included all others liable to military duty.¹³ This shows a very slight change from the first law. But besides this the former act made no provision for exemptions except as to the physical disability, while under the new law those who might be exempted were designated in section two and were as follows:

Any persons physically or mentally unfit for service were to be exempted on a statement given by an examining surgeon. These exemptions were for much the same defects as in 1862 with the exception that the list of exempting complaints was cut to about one-half. It was now thought that with honest surgeons an exemption for physical disability would be about twice as difficult to obtain.¹⁴ Moreover those exempted under the draft of 1862 were again liable to a re-examination, so that many persons were drafted under the new law who would otherwise have escaped under the old. The list of exemptions under section two also provided for the exemption of the Vice-president of the United States, the judges of the various courts of the United States, the heads of the executive departments of the government, and the governors of the several States. Another part of this section called for the exemption of

¹² *Western Christian Advocate*, July 18, 1864.

¹³ M'Pherson, *History of the Rebellion*, pp. 115-116.

¹⁴ *Greencastle Banner*, Dec. 3, 1863.

the only son, liable to military duty, of a widow dependent upon his labor for support. The third provision stated that the only son of an aged or infirm parent or parents, dependent upon his labor for support, was also to be exempted. Again where there were two or more sons in such a case as mentioned above, the father, or if he was dead, the mother might elect which son should be exempted. The fifth clause provided that the brother of children who were not twelve years of age, having neither father nor mother living, was to be exempted. In the sixth place the father of motherless children under twelve years of age and dependent upon his labor for support need not go to the war. The seventh and last clause of this section is as follows; "where there are a father and sons in the same family and household and two of them are in the military service of the United States as non-commissioned officers, musicians, or privates, the residue of such families and household not exceeding two shall be exempt."¹⁵

The exemption of the skilled workmen in gun factories, firemen and engineers, telegraph operators and such like, was continued much the same as in 1862.

Another class of exemptions may also be included in the list, namely the drafted men who sent substitutes in their places. During the first year after the passage of this act a drafted man was allowed to furnish an acceptable substitute or pay three hundred dollars instead of going to the front. This discharged him from further liability under that draft. The three hundred dollars was known as "commutation" money and was used for the maintenance of the armies as well as for "bounty" money to aid in volunteering. But in a very short time this commutation clause had raised a storm of protest from a great many people of nearly all loyal States. They argued that a rich man who might happen to be drafted would be able to discharge his obligation to the government by the payment of three hundred dollars while a poor man who was drafted would have to go to war because he did not have the three hundred dollars with which to exempt himself. This was virtually class legislation, and put a premium on a man's wealth. However, after much controversy between the governors of the different States and the executive, and storms of disapproval from the loyal people this clause was finally repealed, except for con-

¹⁵ *Greencastle Banner*, March 5, 1863.

scientious exemptions, on July 4, 1864. Previous to this time no draft under this Conscription Act had been held in Indiana and consequently Indiana had not been as much concerned with this clause as a few of the other States. Yet Governor Morton was one of the men who strongly and justly opposed it.¹⁶

But before this time on February 24, 1864, Congress had passed an amendment to the Act of March 3, 1863, which provided for the equalization of the draft by calculating the quota for each district or precinct and then counting the number of men previously furnished by that locality. Under this amendment any person enrolled on the lists might furnish an acceptable substitute, who was not liable to the draft, and was not at the time in the military or naval service of the United States. Such a person so furnishing a substitute was exempted from the draft during the allotted time for which his substitute was not held accountable to the draft. This time was not to exceed the period for which the substitute had been accepted. In case the substitute was found to be liable to the draft, the name of the person furnishing him was again placed on the roll and he was subject to the draft in future calls, but not until the present enrollment had been exhausted.¹⁷

Another clause of this amendment provided that members of religious denominations who had made oath or affirmation that they were conscientiously opposed to the bearing of arms, and who were prohibited from doing so by the practices and articles of faith of their religious denomination, when drafted, were to be considered as non-combatants, and assigned to duty in hospitals, or to the care of freedmen, or were to pay three hundred dollars for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers. Yet it was necessary that they give proof that their deportment had been consistent with their faith.¹⁸

The new system of enrollment differed somewhat from the old. Section five of the new enrolment law provided that the secretary of war was to dismiss from the service all minors under the age of eighteen. From this time any officer of the United States who enlisted or mustered into service any person under the age of sixteen with or without consent of his parents or guardians was to be dismissed from the service, with the forfeiture of all pay and allow-

¹⁶ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, pp. 50-53.

¹⁷ M'Pherson, *History of the Rebellion*, p. 116.

¹⁸ M'Pherson, *History of the Rebellion*, p. 116.

ances and was subject to such further punishment as the court martial might decide. Moreover such persons so enlisted were to be unconditionally released upon the repayment of the "bounty" received.

Furthermore this law authorized the provost-marshalls, under the direction of the provost-marshall-general to make a draft in each district for one hundred per cent above the number required to fill the quota of such district. That is, if the quota for one township happened to be fifty then the supervising commissioner was authorized and expected to draft for one hundred.

Whereas before, transportation expenses had been paid drafted men only from their county seat to the general rendezvous, it was now provided that the traveling expenses of the drafted men should be allowed from their home to the general rendezvous.¹⁹ Besides this a new bureau was established under the charge of provost-marshall-general. Provost-marshalls were appointed in each congressional district of the State to assist him. An acting assistant provost-marshall-general was also appointed to supervise the work in each State.

To facilitate the enrollment, a "Board of Enrollment" was established in each district. This board consisted of the district provost-marshall as the presiding officer, a commissioner, and a surgeon who had been appointed by the President of the United States. After the board had been established it received directions to divide the districts into sub-districts and appoint every two years an enrolling officer for each.

These Boards of Enrollment had been fully organized by May 1863 and the districts as once sub-divided for the purpose of enrollment. Towns, townships and wards were generally adopted as the most convenient sub-divisions. An enrolling officer was then appointed and sworn in to perform his duty. Great care was taken to appoint competent and honest men. Here some difficulty was experienced on account of the great number of disloyal men in the State, but the list was soon complete and the work of enrollment began in earnest about May 25, 1863.²⁰

The work of enrollment was finished in ample time to begin the draft which was not held until about a year later. These enrollment lists were continually being revised by the enrolling

¹⁹ *Western Christian Advocate*, July 12, 1864.

²⁰ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, p. 46.

officers in each sub-district. This was done because they were the basis for determining the proportion of troops to be supplied by each sub-district and it was desired that the greatest accuracy should be maintained in order that no injustice should be practiced on any locality. At first, these enrollment lists were more or less defective but by the continual corrections made in accordance with the directions from the provost-marshal-general, they soon became as nearly perfect as was possible under the system.

The revised lists for December 19, 1864, showed a reserve strength for the State of one hundred fifty-eight thousand three hundred forty-eight men.²¹ This of course is much less than under the enrollments of 1862 due to the great numbers who had volunteered and gone to the front during that period.

After the draft of 1862 it was not again necessary to draft from this State until after the call of July 18, 1864, for five hundred thousand men. All of the calls during that time had been filled with volunteers. Under the latter call Indiana's quota was thirty-five thousand seven hundred thirty-two, being somewhat larger than usual.²² Volunteers were slow in coming in and it seemed that the available men were all holding back, either from lack of interest, or weariness of the war which had now dragged into years. Hence it was found necessary to again make use of the draft. Accordingly this was done during the months of September and October and passed off tolerably quiet. A total of thirty-three thousand nine hundred sixty-eight men were drawn in this draft, all of whom were exempted for various reasons, but twelve thousand four hundred seventy-four. Of these four thousand four hundred sixty-six sent substitutes, ninety-seven deserted before joining the ranks and seven thousand two hundred eighty-eight responded to the summons of their State as drafted men and were sent to the front. Besides this six hundred twenty-three who were conscientiously opposed to war paid commutation and were released from duty.²³

Again on the nineteenth of December 1864 another call was made for three hundred thousand men. This time the quota for the State was twenty-two thousand five hundred eighty-two. It was principally filled by volunteers, yet a few were lacking and it was found necessary to make use of the draft a third time. This was

²¹ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, Document 40, p. 345.

²² *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, Document 23, p. 215.

²³ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, Document 23, p. 215.

done during the month of March 1865. The total number of men drawn at this time was seven thousand one hundred ninety. Two thousand four hundred twenty-four of this number were retained. One thousand three hundred fifty-one were sent as drafted men; seven hundred thirty-one sent substitutes, and three hundred forty-two paid commutation. The remainder were exempted partly because the end of the war was so near, and partly because of disability and other reasons.²⁴

Glancing over the entire situation we find that the total number of men drawn under these three drafts was forty-four thousand one hundred sixty-one. Twenty thousand four hundred twenty-two came under the exemption clauses and consequently remained at home. Six thousand six hundred fifty-eight failed to report at the rendezvous and were afterwards classed as deserters; five thousand one hundred ninety-seven sent substitutes; ninety-seven deserted at the time of the draft, and out of the entire number ten thousand eight hundred twenty-two were sent to the front as drafted men. Out of this large number of persons drawn only nine hundred sixty-five made use of the commutation clause during the entire war. This was the smallest number who sought to avoid their obligation to the government by this method of any State in the Union, save one.

It may be of interest to know something of the relative number of Indiana's troops which were drafted as compared with the number of volunteers. In all Indiana furnished two hundred eight thousand three hundred forty-eight men.²⁵ This gives us then a total of about eight and one-half per cent of all of Indiana's troops being sent as drafted men. Moreover during the war there was a total of ten thousand eight hundred forty-six deserters from the Indiana ranks.²⁶ Of this number only two thousand four hundred forty-nine were from the ranks of the drafted men. On close inspection it will be seen that but a little more than five per cent of all of Indiana's volunteers deserted, while about thirteen and one-half per cent of the drafted men deserted. On the other hand slightly more than seventy-nine per cent of Indiana's deserters came from the ranks of the volunteers and only about twenty-one per cent came from the drafted men. This seems to be exactly opposite in

²⁴ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, Document 36, p. 238.

²⁵ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, Document 1, p. 5.

²⁶ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, Document 1, p. 5.

nature, but owing to the much greater number of volunteers in the army, naturally more deserters would come from that source.

Perhaps the most serious resistance was encountered during the process of the draft of 1862. This took place in Blackford county.²⁷ In that county a few lawless men destroyed the draft box and by threats and violence prevented the officers from proceeding with the draft on the day appointed. It was, however, continued on the third day after.²⁸ There were also threats and other misdemeanors in Fountain county.

During 1863 there was considerable opposition to the enrollment. In some sections of the country where the Knights of the Golden Circle (Sons of Liberty, etc.,) Butternuts and Copperheads were numerous considerable opposition was experienced. Outrages were committed in many parts of the State with impunity. Deserters banded together with other disloyal citizens and plundered and stole whenever and wherever the opportunity presented itself. In a few counties the enrolling officers were actually shot and killed. These instances, however, were rare. But for the most part the opposition was in the nature of threats and little violence was committed. In some places bands of disloyal men rode about the country capturing or stealing the enrolling books and threatening the lives of the enrolling officers. Following is a copy of a letter received by Mr. Craig, enrolling officer in Monroe township, Putnam county:

We the undersigned will give you our advice for your own good and if you don't lay aside the enrolling, your life will be taken tomorrow night, and you had better take our advice as friends; we don't expect to interrupt you; but we have heard men with vengeance against you say that you had better stay at home, and you had better take our advice and stay at home.

From YOUR FRIEND.²⁹

He, however, was not intimidated by the threat and continued the enrolling on the next day. This is judged to be a fair example of the most of the disturbances which occurred all over the State and especially in the southern portion where the Knights of the Golden Circle seemed strongest.

²⁷ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, p. 282.

²⁸ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, p. 44.

²⁹ *Greencastle Banner*, June 18, 1863.

Later in 1864 there was quite an uprising in Orange and Crawford counties. A band of five hundred men assembled to resist the draft. They armed themselves and took horses, arms and money from the citizens and home guards. "In parts of these counties disloyal people assembled by the hundreds, defied the laws, fired upon and killed some enrolling officers, wounded law-abiding citizens, and robbed them of their property with the avowed determination of aiding the rebellion."³⁰ This, however, did not prove to be quite as serious as at first reported.

Taken as a whole the matter of Indiana's conduct during the war in reference to the draft can hardly be praised too highly. From the above article it can be seen that she filled nearly all of her calls promptly and cheerfully. One very noticeable feature is that there were no deficiencies left over to be filled by subsequent calls. In nearly all cases up to near the end of the war her excess of troops had amounted to from two thousand to thirty thousand men.³¹ This fact alone clearly pictures the splendid patriotism and public spirit of Indiana's citizens, the vigor and energy of her authorities, and the promptness with which each demand upon the State was met. Many times the quotas were deemed unjust, yet there was no lagging, no hesitancy and scarcely any trouble. The State was always ready to send her share of men and it is a gratification to be able to say that she relied solely upon her own citizens to fill her obligations to the national government. The following tribute was merited:

Often when it seemed that the government, by hesitation, inaction, and delay, was on the point of sacrificing, or allowing to be sacrificed, the objects of the war by permitting great advantages to be seized by the rebels, the Governor took grave and weighty responsibilities upon himself, determined that no fault of his, or of his State should add to the chance of disaster and defeat. Believing in the correctness of his own views with regard to the perils of the situation, despite the hampering and objections that continually trammelled him, he often raised troops in advance of any call, and on many occasions made offers, when none were demanded, and though his efforts and his offers were sometimes severely criticized, in no single instance did he take a backward step. The troops were always needed and were always acceptable, but the foresight that provided them, and the pressure that attempted to secure their acceptance, did not always receive the appreciation they deserved until the contingencies or misfortunes they were intended to anticipate, or prevent, had actually transpired.³²

³⁰ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, p. 287.

³¹ *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, p. 40.

³² *Terrell's Reports*; Vol. I, p. 19.

Yet bearing in mind all of the harsh words and the unkind criticisms of thoughtless and unfeeling people, Governor Morton was to be congratulated on his heroic efforts and patriotic motives which caused him to be one of the foremost officials in the service of the North during this trying period.

APPENDIX—TABLE SHOWING THE RESULTS OF THE DRAFTS IN INDIANA

	Draft of October 6, 1862†	Draft of Septem- ber and October, 1864	Draft of March, 1865	Total
Number enrolled.....	178,178	*	158,348	.....
Quota due from the State.....	21,250	85,782	22,582	79,564
Volunteers under these calls.....	18,248	23,258	20,058	51,564
Number due from the State by the draft..	3,008	12,474	2,424	17,901
Number drawn.....	3,008	33,968	7,190	44,161
Number exempted.....	896	16,107	8,919	20,422
Number who failed to report.....	424	5,887	847	6,658
Number who went as drafted men.....	2,183	7,288	1,851	10,822
Number who sent substitutes.....	.....	4,466	731	5,197
Number who paid commutation.....	.....	628	842	965
Number who deserted at time of the draft	.....	97	.....	97
Number who deserted after joining ranks	878	1,858	218	2,449

* Not completely revised.

† Provided for deficit only, to be drawn.

MINOR NOTICES

THE INDIANAPOLIS JOURNAL FILES

The files of the *Indianapolis Journal* running from 1825 to 1904, bound in 251 volumes, were recently loaned by the Indianapolis *Star* Publishing Company to the Indiana Historical Survey. They constituted one of the best single sources on Indiana history to be had. The *Journal* was founded in 1824 by John Douglass and Douglass Maguire. It had the longest continuous run under the same name of any paper in the State. From about 1840 to its close in 1904 it was a daily. During the greater part of that time it also published a weekly edition called the *Indiana State Journal*. For a few years in the seventies it ran an evening edition, but this was at a financial loss.

Among its noted editors were John Douglass, John Defrees, Berry Sulgrove, William R. Holloway, William P. Fishback, John C. New, and Elijah Halford. It helped organize the Whig party and officiated at its funeral; it was sponsor for the new Republican party and served it faithfully for exactly a half century. It helped elect the elder Harrison and also his grandson to the presidency. It saw Indianapolis grow from a squatter's camp into a modern capital. It was a well established paper when the first stage coach came to town, was an old institution when the first railroad reached it.

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD IN DECATUR COUNTY

The Greensburg *Daily News*, February 3, to February 17 inclusive, printed a series of articles on the above topic. It is not generally known that citizens of Decatur County were so active in the Abolition cause. The author of the articles, Mr. N. T. Rogers, has made a commendable search for this material and has woven it into a dramatic story. The number of the fugitives evidently would run into the hundreds if all cases were recorded. The illustrations by Smiley Fowler add a realistic touch to the story.

One of the rescues described by Mr. Rogers resulted in a law suit in which George Ray of Kentucky recovered damages to the

amount of \$1200 from Luther A. Donnell in the United States Circuit Court at Indianapolis. The friends of the abolition cause joined in the payment of the fine.

As usual the most aggravating element in the whole affair was the professional slave catcher who lived in the neighborhood. He would keep an eye out for the poor refugees and often in the guise of a friend would conduct them into the hands of their pursuers. These brutes became kidnappers of free negroes whenever occasion offered. The real preliminaries of the Civil war are to be found in these unfortunate affairs. James E. Caskey is editor and publisher of the paper.

CHARLES S. HERNLY

Charles S. Hernly of Newcastle, Indiana, died at his home in that city April 18. He was born September 23, 1856, in New Castle and there spent his entire life. He was first a school teacher, then a lawyer. Politics was amost a profession with him. He rose by regular steps through the precinct, city, and county positions until in 1898 he became state chairman of the Republican party. In that year and again in 1900 he led the party to victory. He was also well known as a financier, having organized and promoted the Indianapolis, New Castle and Toledo traction line.

JOANNA M. LANE

The death of Mrs. Joanna M. Lane occurred at her home in Crawfordsville April 6. She was the eldest child of Isaac C. Elston, a pioneer of the city of Crawfordsville. She was born September 28, 1826. February 11, 1845 she married Henry S. Lane. When her husband started with his regiment, the First Indiana, to the Mexican war the following year, Mrs. Lane presented the regimental flag to the troops. Mr. Lane was Colonel of the regiment.

Mrs. Lane accompanied her husband to the first Republican convention, over which he was called to preside. She has attended every Republican convention since that time. At the National Republican Convention at Chicago in 1912 she was very much discouraged at the fierce factional fight and the final disruption that took place.

At the beginning of the Civil war she accompanied her husband, then a Senator, to Washington, where she remained during the eventful period. The terrible scenes following the Battle of Bull Run when the wounded were brought by wagon loads and distributed to the homes in that city were never forgotten by her.

Mrs. Lane was well acquainted with President Lincoln who often visited their home to talk over political and military affairs. She was a sister to Mrs. Lew Wallace and accompanied the Wallaces to Constantinople and from there visited the Holy Land as the special guest of the Sultan. An excellent sketch of her life by Mary Hannah Krout was given in the *Crawfordsville Journal* April 10, 1914.

BISHOP THOMAS BOWMAN

On March 3rd. 1914 at Orange New Jersey occurred the death of Bishop Thomas Bowman an ex-president of DePauw University, and at the time of his death the senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was born near Berwick, Pennsylvania, July 15, 1817, of well to do and educated parents, both of whom were staunch Methodists, and active in spreading Methodism throughout the Susquehanna valley. The great grandmother and grandfather of Bishop Bowman were two of Bishop Asbury's converts, and from this direct line there have come more than thirty ministers or ministers' wives. When Thomas Bowman was fourteen years of age he was sent to Wilberham Academy in Massachusetts, and later to Cazenovia Seminary in New York State. In 1835 he entered the junior class of Dickenson College at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he graduated in 1837 at the head of his class, being chosen valedictorian. At first he considered seriously going into the law, but through the advice of his teachers at Dickenson College he finally decided to choose the ministry instead, and in 1839 he joined the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church. In 1840 he became a tutor in the grammar school of Dickenson College, remaining there three years, when, because of his father's ill health and because of a temporary break in his own, he was compelled to give up the work of teaching for several years. In 1848 he became the principal of Dickenson Seminary at Williamsport, Pennsylvania, where he carried on a very successful work, erecting buildings, gathering students and shaping courses of instruction. For ten years he labored

at this important post, when in 1859 he was invited to become the president of Indiana Asbury University, now DePauw, at Greencastle, Indiana.

While president of old Asbury he became a most influential and popular preacher in the central west and was in constant demand for camp meetings, educational meetings, dedications and anniversaries of various kinds. During these critical years he was a mighty moral and religious agent in the western country, and when the Civil War came he did service for his country in many and various forms. In 1864 he served as chaplain of the United States Senate, being on leave of absence from the college for that purpose. While in Washington, he became a friend of Lincoln and did what he could to aid the President of the United States to bear his heavy burden. He remained president of Asbury until 1872, and it was during his administration that East college was erected, at the time of its erection one of the most artistic and costly college buildings in this part of the country. In the year 1872 he was elected a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with his residence at St. Louis, where he lived until his retirement in 1896.

After Dr. Bowman's election to the episcopacy he did not lose his interest in the college he had served so long and so well. It was largely through his influence that Mr. W. C. DePauw was persuaded to give so largely to old Asbury, and the latest catalogue of DePauw University has at the head of its faculty the name of Bishop Thomas Bowman D.D., LL.D., President Emeritus.

WM. W. SWEET.

JOHN ADE

While attending the Tenth District Republican Congressional Convention at Valparaiso, April 28, John Ade was stricken with paralysis and died immediately. He was born near Cincinnati 85 years ago. In March 1853 he came to what is now Newton county with his wife and oldest child in a lumber wagon. He soon helped to organize the new county and later served as auditor. His later life was spent as a banker in company with G. W. McCray. He was a working Republican having helped in the organization of the party in 1854. He was a public-spirited citizen, well acquainted with all the public affairs of his county. This wide range of knowledge of local affairs enabled him to write an excellent county history which he published recently.

EDWARD MOLLOY

Edward Molloy, editor of *The LaPorte Herald* and its predecessors since 1878, passed away at 8:10 o'clock Mar. 18 at the Holy Family hospital, after an illness of a little over five weeks. Edward Molloy was born in New York City, March 20, 1843, so that had he lived two more days he would have been 71 years of age. When a lad he was brought to LaPorte county and until he left for the war he made his home with Mr. and Mrs. Borden, in Hudson township. He worked on the farm and also attended the township school, and also attended the New Carlisle Seminary, from which he graduated. When the Civil war broke out he enlisted and immediately went to the front, being a member of Company K, 87th Indiana infantry. Enlisting as a private he soon demonstrated his worth and was quickly promoted, so that before the war ended he had become first lieutenant in his company and adjutant of the regiment. He participated in all the important engagements in which his regiment took part, being twice wounded. He was with Sherman on his famous march to the sea, and he was honorably mustered out of the service on June 11, 1865.

Upon leaving the army Mr. Molloy returned to LaPorte county and then went to South Bend, where he started the *South Bend Union*. While there he became acquainted with Emma Barrett, a wellknown platform lecturer and temperance speaker, and their marriage soon followed. Mrs. Molloy assisted her husband in the editing and publishing of the paper. From South Bend, Mr. and Mrs. Molloy went to Elkhart, where Mr. Molloy was editor of the *Elkhart Observer*. In the early 70's Mr. Molloy went to New York, where he was connected with one of the newspapers, but May 1st, 1878, he returned to LaPorte and became editor of the *LaPorte Chronicle* then owned by Captain Silas T. Taylor. On February 1, 1880, *The Chronicle* was consolidated with *The Herald*, which had been purchased by Archibald Beal of C. G. Powell, the paper from that time until 1888 being known as the *Herald-Chronicle*, the LaPorte Printing Co. being the publisher. In 1880 the *Chronicle* was dropped and since that date it has been published as *The Herald*. During all of this time Edward Molloy had been the editor. He was an ardent and zealous Republican and a member of Patton post, No. 147, Grand Army of the Republic, and for several terms he served as the commander. He belonged to Excelsior lodge, No.

41, F. and A. M., and LaPorte chapter, No. 280, Order of Eastern Star. He was also a member of Halcyon council, Royal Arcanum, Michigan City, and Maple City court, Tribe of Ben Hur. His religious affiliation was with the Swedenborgian church.

PATRICK H. McCORMICK

The death of Patrick H. McCormick, occurred at Danville, Indiana, March 20, 1914. He was superintending the erection of the new Hendricks county courthouse at the time. Mr. McCormick was a native of Ireland, born near Limerick, county Clare, March 27, 1842. At the age of six he came to America, settling at Nashville where his parents lived the remainder of their lives. He became a mason by trade, working for the Federal government on the Nashville and Chattanooga railroad during the war.

In 1867 he came to Indiana and made Columbus his home. He became a general contractor and as such erected many public buildings in Indiana and surrounding states. Among these are the Rose Polytechnic building, at least ten county courthouses, the insane asylum buildings at Logansport and Evansville, the Indiana University Library building at Bloomington, the Pennsylvania bridge over the Ohio river at Louisville, the government locks at Nashville.

In 1880 he represented his county in the State General Assembly, and was reelected. In 1884 he was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. In 1888 he was a candidate for State Treasurer but was defeated in the convention. He served his city as mayor, a number of terms. A good biography appears in the Columbus *Republican* of March 20.

JOHN CRUDEN ROBINSON

John Cruden Robinson was born in Rush county, Indiana, February 29, 1840. He came of sturdy stock. He was a son of Osmyn and Nancy Robinson. His father was a man of force and influence in Rush county, was noted for his natural ability and served as a member of the General Assembly in 1839. His uncle, John L. Robinson, was an influential politician in Indiana, filled the position of United States Marshal for the district of Indiana under the administration of President Buchanan. His father died in 1847, leaving his wife

with the care of seven children. She was a woman of natural ability and energy, however, and although in moderate circumstances she succeeded in training, preparing and educating her children for careers of usefulness. She died in 1876. John C. spent his early years on the farm, assisting his mother in conducting the same. During that time he was developing mind as well as muscle, cultivating a taste for literary pursuits and reading many useful books. After attending the common schools the usual length of time, he was prepared for college at Fairview academy under the instruction of Professor William M. Thrasher, who at a later period was connected with Butler University.

He entered the State University at Bloomington in 1857, from which institution he graduated with honor in 1861. His proficiency in scholarship was of a high order and his college days were days of joy and pleasure. In college he became a member of the Greek fraternity Phi Delta Theta. It may be said to the credit of Judge Robinson that in later years especially, it has been one of the delights of his life to honor the memory of his college instructors, especially that of Professors Wylie, Ballentine and Kirkwood.

When Judge Robinson graduated in 1861, the war of the rebellion was in full progress. While he was never mustered into military service, he served in the capacity of clerk in the quartermaster's department under quartermaster W. C. Tarkington for a period of about 18 months in the field.

At the conclusion of his services with quartermaster Tarkington he returned home, taught school for a time and began the study of law. In the year of 1865 he located at Spencer for the practice of his profession, arriving on the eighth of May. He soon established a reputation as a lawyer of no mean ability. In 1866 he was appointed prosecuting attorney to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Jacob S. Broadwell and was subsequently elected twice to the same office. In 1872 he was a candidate for reporter of the supreme court on the Democratic State ticket, but was defeated with the rest of the ticket. In 1871 he formed a partnership with Inman H. Fowler for the practice of law which continued until 1876, when he was elected judge of the circuit court. He occupied the bench the full term of six years.

In March 1883, he was appointed by Governor Albert G. Porter, as a member of the committee to locate and erect the State hospi-

tals for the insane at Logansport, Richmond, and Evansville and was re-appointed to the same position by Governor Gray. He was elected journal clerk of the national House of Representatives in 1887, serving in that capacity until 1890.

In politics Judge Robinson was a Democrat of the old school and for many years was active in party affairs. Although greatly attached to his party, he could not approve the 16 to 1 silver proposition of Mr. Bryan in 1896 and served as a candidate for presidential elector for the State at large on the Democratic gold ticket. In the spring of 1890 he moved to Terre Haute, Indiana, where he engaged in the practice of law, but returned to Spencer four years later.

Judge Robinson was a member of the Christian church. For many years he was president of the Indiana State Christian Sunday School Association and active in its affairs. He was a member of the Odd Fellows and a Mason.

In April, 1869, he was married to Martha J., daughter of the late John J. Cooper. Three children were born to them—Guy, who died at the age of two years, Ralph now in the Philippine islands, where he has been engaged ten years in educational work, and Jesse, now residing at Spencer.

HORACE P. OWEN

Horace P. Owen, the oldest surviving member of the distinguished Owen family, died at his home at New Harmony, March 9. He was a son of Richard Owen, and a grandson of the great Robert Owen. He was president of the New Harmony Centennial commission and president of the New Harmony Banking company. He was 71 years of age. Death was due to hardening of the arteries. He served with honor during the civil war. He is survived by his wife, who is a daughter of the late Dr. Mann of New Harmony, two daughters, Mrs. Arthur Armstrong of Memphis, Tenn., and Mrs. Aline Neal of New Harmony, and one son, Richard Dale Owen of Los Angeles. The genealogical table on the following page shows the relationship of this famous family.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

The story of the American West is being told. That energy of the West which has entered the current of national development is becoming known. The recognition of the part played by the Mississippi valley in the development of the United States is the most distinctive characteristic of present-day research in the field of American history. This recognition has been won almost solely by the efforts of western historians. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association was organized in 1907 in order that the study of the West might be more systematically promoted and correlated. The success of that organization has justified the development that is announced in a circular, the publication of a quarterly devoted to the study of the history of the valley, the first number of which will appear on June 1, 1914.

The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War. By William Warren Sweet, Ph.D., Professor of History, DePauw University. (Methodist Book Concern, Cincinnati.) pp. 228, 1913.

The Methodist church was extremely active during the period immediately preceding the Civil War. It was among the first to grapple with the slavery question. The question would not yield to any attempt at solution, so the church divided into a Methodist Church South and a Methodist Church North. The Northern church numbered about 1,000,000 members, one tenth of whom were in Indiana, this State ranking fourth in the list.

The Methodists of the North were aggressive anti-slavery advocates, pressing the fight from Baltimore to Kansas. Editors of Methodist papers who did not keep well out on the firing line were invariably replaced by more outspoken men.

As a consequence of this they also found themselves close to the danger line when the crash of war came. A large number of the members enlisted and likewise a large number of Methodist preachers found appointments as chaplains in the regiments where their passionate appeal had great influence in keeping up the courage of the troops. In like manner the Methodist bishops could always be

relied upon as rally-day orators. Their eloquent appeals for the Union were heard not only throughout the Union but in Paris and London.

Besides these more important phases of the church work, Dr. Sweet has added chapters on the less well-known work of the church. The trials and persecutions of the ministers in the Border States during the period between the separation of the church and the opening of the war make a thrilling chapter. Another chapter deals with the church periodicals, another with the work and personalities of the war bishops, some of whom stood close to the Lincoln administration. Some valuable source material is included in an appendix of 37 pages. A bibliography of twelve pages is given in addition to the foot-notes.

The necessity of crowding a large volume into the compass of a doctor's thesis has in many places left its painful evidence. On the whole it is an excellent little volume, the material in which would be hard to find in so convenient a form.

Our Old School. By Theodore Stein. (Indianapolis.) pp. 211. 1914.

This is an historical sketch of the German-English Independent school of Indianapolis. This school opened January 21, 1854 and continued to July 14, 1882. The author has sought in this small book merely to treasure up a few of the memories of a congenial band of immigrants and refugees, who, in most cases, fleeing from the tyranny of the reactionary government of the Fatherland built up a small community in what to them no doubt seemed a frontier town. This volume is a mere sketch, a fragment from the history of that large number of radical Germans who came to America at this opportune time.

One of the significant things in connection with the coming of these Germans was the suspicion and distrust with which they were regarded by the Americans. Although they usually exceeded the community in which they lived in education, industry and energy they were called anarchists by many newspapers. Others pointed out that they were irreligious, clannish, given to meeting in secret conclaves where no doubt sedition, and treason, to say nothing

of lesser crimes, would be hatched. The fact that they did not enter with the usual western spirit into the political campaigns made them suspicious to the politicians.

When these men petitioned the school authorities of Indianapolis to have their children taught German the city fathers refused their request for the reason that nothing would do more toward making good citizens of these same Germans than to deprive them of their native language.

It was this narrow policy that drove them to the old Independent school.

One is surprised at the long list of well-known names connected with this school—Seidensticker, Vonnegut, Koehne, Meyer, Lieber, Metzger, Strauss, Haueisen, Schnull, Mayer, Hielscher and scores of others, the substantial citizens of the city for the last half century. One can scarcely believe that much the same cry was raised at their coming as we hear now against the "ignorant foreigners."

Mr. Stein does not confine himself strictly to the recitation room but gives us a pretty full picture of the life of the times. The "Helvetia Bund" the "Weinachtsfest," the "Volksfest," the "Turnverein" the "Maennerchor", the "Freier Maenner Verein", their newspapers, their songs, their picnics, are all remembered by the author. Doubtless the most valuable part of the book to those for whom it was prepared is the album of pictures including most of the teachers, trustees and others closely connected with the school. Lists of teachers with dates, trustees, subscribers, and friends are given.

The book is not a history and makes no pretense to be but when the history of the Germans in Indiana is undertaken much valuable material will be found in this little volume.

Virginia Under the Stuarts. By Thomas J. Wertenbaker, (Princeton University Press. 1914.)

As the author states in the preface, the work is a political history of Virginia written from the documents. Hence, the author does not attempt to describe how the early settlers lived or made a livelihood. He does not describe affairs and institutions in England that throw light upon or had indirect influence in bringing about events in America. He limits himself very closely to his documents, mak-

ing them very nearly tell the story, and injecting very little explanation and interpretation of his own. By the copious references the reader knows at every turn upon whose authority he accepts the statements, leaving the reader rather free to make his own interpretations. A little more explanation from the author's own understanding might at times help the average reader along. For instance, in describing the "starving time," the author shows from the records how sickness, Indian attacks, and the uncertainty of provision-ships produced hardships, but fails to point out that the real trouble was that the English yeoman had difficulty in transforming himself into the pioneer who could plunge into the forest with his rifle and live without English food and clothes. This is a case wherein the author had stuck rather too closely to his documents.

The book is well planned. The chapter divisions make the different phases of Virginia history stand out clearly. The narrative runs along smoothly and is rather easily followed. However, a few omissions impair the sequence. To take some illustrations from the first two chapters, it is not always clear when one deputy governor left and another came. Dale and Argoll are introduced on page 23, and Dale's work is again discussed on page 25, but one needs to read several pages further before one finds when Dale succeeded Gates, and one looks in vain to find just when Argoll was deputy governor. The reader finds Yearlly coming as Deputy governor in 1616 and reappearing as governor in 1619 without any intimation as to who was in control of the colony in the meantime.

For an example of another kind of omission, we might take the author's discussion of the charters. In dealing with the charter of 1606, the author states that two councils were concerned with the government of the London Company's grant. This is not the whole truth. As a matter of fact, the Charter of 1606 provided for 5 councils, one council for all "Virginia," two councils for that part of Virginia assigned to the London Company, and two for the Plymouth grant. So that there were really three councils concerned with the tract of land which was later known as Virginia.

Again, in discussing how each successive charter was a move in the direction of preparing for the establishment of representative government in America, the author has omitted mention of the

specific way in which the charter of 1609 made it possible for the Puritan element, led by Sandys and favoring representative government in America, to secure control of the company.

The index to the book is excellent. There is no bibliography but a list of books referred to is given.

The Quakers of Iowa. By Louis Thomas Jones, Ph.D., (Iowa City, Iowa) pp. 360. 1914.

This volume is a thesis submitted to the history faculty of the State University of Iowa in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the doctorate degree. After a brief discussion of Quakers in England and in the American colonies the writer drops suddenly into the heart of his story.

The Quakers were among the earliest settlers in Iowa, locating soon after the Black Hawk war and the consequent Black Hawk purchase had freed the country around Burlington of the natives. Isaac Pigeon of South Carolina and Aaron Street of Salem, Indiana, were the pioneers. They named their new city in remembrance of Streets old home, at Salem, Indiana. The greater number of the settlers seem to have migrated from Indiana. In 1837 a company of nine families from Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting, near Williamsburg, Wayne county, Indiana arrived. A catalogue of two scores of names of these Iowa pioneers shows that they were really a Hoosier colony. They were a part of the Indiana Quaker community till the Western Quarterly Meeting at Bloomfield gave them permission to establish their own Monthly Meeting in 1838. But one would have to retell the whole story to show how closely the history of the Iowa Quakers is related to those of Indiana.

The author discusses the pioneer struggles of the early Quaker communities of Iowa, their form of worship, their dissenting churches, their benevolent and educational enterprises, their social life and customs. Copious notes indicate the thoroughness of the investigation. It is an inexcusable mistake to put the notes at the close of the volume, however. It is bad enough to have to stop reading and go to the foot of the page to read a note but to be compelled to go to the back of the book is too much.

The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly for April contains a forty-five page article by Calvin Young on the "Birthplace of Little Turtle." According to Mr.

Young, Little Turtle was born near Blue River lake, two miles northwest of Cherubusco in Whitley county, Indiana. He was the son of a Miami chief and a Mohican squaw. He was with Burgoyne on the march down to Saratoga; in 1780 he led the Miami warriors at the massacre of La Balme and his party eight miles southwest of Fort Wayne; he defeated Colonel Hardin north of Fort Wayne in 1790; the next year he inflicted the disastrous massacre on the regular army under St. Clair at Fort Recovery; in 1794 and 1795 he was outgeneraled by Wayne and his power broken at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. After that he became a firm friend to the white people. He died at Fort Wayne at the beginning of the war of 1812. The article contains a great deal of information not easily accessible elsewhere.

One Hundred Topics in Iowa History in the title of a 44 page pamphlet by Dan Elbert Clark. The author has arranged 100 important topics covering the field of Iowa History, giving under each topic from four to ten references. The pamphlet is intended for the use of clubs studying State history.

New Harmony is preparing for an elaborate centennial celebration June 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 13. The program provides for Rapp day, Devotional day, Owen day, Woman day, Indiana day, Fraternal day and Posey County day. Among the orators are George B. Lockwood, author of the *New Harmony Movement*, Benjamin Bosse, Mayor of Evansville, Ex-President Taft, Charles W. Fairbanks, Governor Samuel Ralston, Senator John Kern, Senator B. F. Shiveley, Judge John M. Lewis, James E. Watson, Major G. V. Menzies. The feature that appeals most to the historian is the Historical Pageant by the school children. The pageant will represent Pre-Rappite, Rappite, and Owenite-periods. This work has been arranged and prepared by Miss Charity Dye, of Indianapolis.

Henry County Historical Society held its twenty-eighth annual meeting at its home, formerly the residence of General William Grose, at Newcastle April 30, 1914.

The invocation was given by Rev. D. H. Lewis of the Friend's Church, followed by a piano solo by Miss Mabel Neff. After the appointing of committees the real program of the day was given. Clarence H. Smith read a paper on the Henry County Seminary in

the early fifties. This was prepared from material contained in a diary, which his mother, the late Katherine Taylor Smith had kept in her sixteenth year. The paper dealt largely with the frivolities of boys and girls sixty years ago and was conclusive proof that they were of much the same stuff as the boys and girls in school today. At that time the instructors were Russel B. Abbott, a graduate of Indiana University in 1847, and James A. Ferris, and so popular was the school that students came from all parts of Henry, Delaware and Randolph counties. They also had a school paper and it dealt in personalities very much after the manner of school papers today. Here is a sample of the verse from its pages:

"The Mouse that trusts to one poor hole
Can never be a mouse of any soul."

Bear's grease and cinnamon oil seem to have been used to such an extent on the heads of the boys that an indignation meeting was held and very drastic resolutions drawn up and unanimously approved. If the "odor" was not abated voluntarily it was resolved to place a mustard plaster on the heads of the offenders in order "to draw the judgment out of their feet."

The historical sketch of Mr. Seth Stafford who died last October at the age of 83 was a most interesting production. One statement in the sketch was, that of the many schools taught by Mr. Stafford, in at least one of them his compensation was only \$10 per month and he paid his own board. There were two or three in the audience who had been pupils of this fine old pioneer and they testified as to his worth as a teacher.

A similar sketch of the late Christian Swain, of Prairie township, the man who lived to be more than 100 years old, was read by J. J. Hoover of Springport.

After an original reading by John Marts every one was invited to the large dining rooms where the usual bountiful and excellent dinner was served and enjoyed.

The report of the nominating committee was read immediately after dinner, and was approved. The officers for the ensuing year are: President, William H. Keesling, Mechanicsburg; Secretary, Lillian E. Chambers, Newcastle; Treasurer, A. W. Saint, Newcastle; Trustee, J. H. Hewitt.

The president then called for donations and loans to the society of relics and rare articles of historic value. Mr. Edward Smith made the society the tender of pictures of his father and mother, the late Lewis and Barbara Smith. Mrs. Watson of Dunreith tendered copies of Vicksburg and Memphis papers of the Civil War days.

One of the best prepared and most interesting papers read by any one on the early history of Indiana, was that by Dr. James A. Woodburn. His subject was "Early Life and Local Color in Indiana" and dealt mainly with the portion of the State that was called the New Purchase, a tract from which 37 counties of the State were afterwards organized.

At the close of his paper Dr. Woodburn was given a vote of thanks for his fine entertainment of the afternoon. He certainly made a warm spot for himself in the hearts of the members of the Henry County Historical Society, who hope to have him with them again at some future time.

A paper contributed by Daniel W. Newby of Kansas on Rich-Square and Pleasant Hill as he knew them sixty years ago was read by Mrs. Benjamin S. Parker. A memorial sketch of Elias and Clarkson Phelps, prepared by Professor Reece a grandson of the former, told the story of two of the notable and noble men of the county.

The meeting adjourned to meet in semi-annual session the last Thursday in October 1914.

Lillian E. Chambers, Secretary.

William M. Sweet, Professor of History, DePauw University, addressed the History Club of Indiana University on "Bishop Simpson and the Funeral of President Lincoln." Among the many suggestive things pointed out he emphasized the close relation between Lincoln's Administration and the churches. The preachers exerted a great influence on the people during that period and that influence was always on the side of law and order. The close personal friendship of the President for Bishop Simpson was also evidenced. The address and the visit were appreciated.

Laura Hostetter, a special writer on the *Evansville Courier* has published in the *Sunday Courier* a series of articles on New Harmony. The charm of this quaint old community still remains. Miss Hostetter has found a large circle of interested readers. The articles have been copied in several local papers, especially by the New

Harmony Times. Although New Harmony is the subject of an extensive literature Miss Hostetter has found a great deal of new matter of interest that had hitherto escaped the historian.

Salem, the county seat of Washington county, is one of the centennial towns of 1914. It is preparing for a celebration and "Home-Coming Week" in October. Some fine people with good blood in their veins and ideas in their heads came into that community a hundred years ago. Salem was laid out in the spring of 1814, Jonathan Lindley being one of the founders of the town. A worthy celebration of the event was held in Salem on Saturday April 4. People came from different parts of the county and the town put on a gala appearance. At a public meeting in the opera house there were suitable exercises. Mr. C. N. Lindley, President of the State Horticultural Society, read a brief history of the settlement of Salem. Professor J. A. Woodburn, of Indiana University, gave an address on "Early Life in Indiana," and Professor U. G. Weatherly, of the University, spoke briefly of the significances of the celebration, and the sterling characteristics of the early settlers. Salem and Washington county have a history that is well worth celebrating. The county deserves a good local history society.

Samuel B. Wells, editor of the *Scott County Journal*, published in that paper, April 1, an interesting story of the Underground Railroad operation before the War. The article includes a graphic description of the St. Louis Slave Market as witnessed by P. T. Lambert in 1856.

The Western Sun, April 3, has an account of the old Fort which has stood at White Oak Springs near Petersburg since the war of 1812. It is said to have been erected by Woolsey Pride and was formerly surrounded by a stockade. It was a two story log building with port holes from the second story. It is not known definitely that it was ever besieged by Indians. A good account of the fort is given by Col. William M. Cockrum in his *Pioneer History of Indiana* page 169.

Dr. W. W. Sweet of DePauw University addressed the Illinois State Historical Society at Springfield, May 7, on "The Methodist Church and Reconstruction."

Rockville and Parke county are joining the procession of local communities that are looking forward to the Centennial Celebration. The town has a few years to go yet before it reaches the hundred mark, but under the leadership of the "Hoosier Club" and other literary clubs of the county preparation is to be made by a study of local history and local topics. A beginning was made by a meeting in Rockville on Friday evening April 17, at which Professor James A. Woodburn read his paper on "Early Life and Local Color in the New Purchase." There was good attendance and the interest indicates that the associated clubs and the people of the community will respond to the spirit of the movement. Mrs. Rufus Dooley, President of the Hoosier Club, and Mr. Walter Furguson, one of the executive officers are actively interested in the Centennial movement.

The Washington Historical Quarterly for April contains the journal of John Works, June, October, 1825. Works was an officer in the Hudson's Bay Company. The *Washington Quarterly* has already published a great many of the documents of this early life in the northwest. These have the advantage over most historical source materials in that they are entertaining reading.

The Danville Republican, April 2, has an account of the last service by the Christian church of that town in their old building. The occasion was celebrated by reviews of the different church activities during its career since 1844. Such celebrations have permanent value in arousing attachment to local institutions.

The Corydon Democrat celebrated its 58th birthday April 15. It was founded by Simeon K. Wolfe who represented the Second District in Congress 1873-1875. Among its later editors were S. M. Stockslager, who sat in the 47th Congress for the Third District, Amzi Brewster who served sixteen years as county auditor, Smith Askren who sat fourteen years in the State Legislature, George K. Gwartney who was prosecuting attorney, and Charles W. Thomas who was school superintendent for thirteen years and once candidate for State Superintendent. Lew M. O'Bannon is editor at present.

The March number of the *Bulletin of the Indiana State Library* was devoted largely to the forthcoming Indiana Centennial celebration. The leading article is an argument by Miss McNitt for a cen-

ennial memorial building. Attention is called to the fact that the State Library is overcrowded, that much valuable material is being lost every year for want of a building in which to store it, and lastly pictures of some of the beautiful State Museum buildings recently erected by our neighbor States are given.

The *Salem Democrat*, April 22, has a page of interesting reminiscences by Joseph Cartwright a pioneer of Washington county now living in Garden City, Mo. His descriptions of life and customs preceding and during the War are well done.

The *Attica Ledger-Press* has just completed an excellent work in local history in the form of a county land owner's map 29x43 inches.

The founding of three new party organs in the past year is a significant fact in politics as well as in newspaper history. February 1, 1914, the *Elkhart Progressive Democrat*, a daily, appeared. James A. Bell is general manager. About one year ago George B. Lockwood began the publication of the *Indiana State Journal* at Muncie with an office at Indianapolis. This paper bears the file number of the old *Indiana State Journal* which for almost a century pleaded the cause of Whig and Republican politics. It is the organ of the Republican party, freely and frankly Republican. March 6, 1914 appeared the first number of *The Citizen*, the organ of the Progressive party. Its editor is George W. Stout of Indianapolis, at which place it is published.

These papers are all distinctly partisan, though not in the old sense of promoting party success at any price. Each represents distinct principles of government, and each stands for clean party performance.

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CONSTITUTION MAKING IN EARLY INDIANA: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

BY JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, Professor of History, Indiana University.

(Read at the recent conference on the need of a Constitutional Convention, held at Indiana University, June 8, 9, 10.)

On the first Monday in December, 1815, the General Assembly of the Indiana territory met at Corydon. Governor Posey was ill at Jeffersonville and he could not come to the seat of government. He sent a brief message by his private secretary, calling attention to the tide of immigration that was flowing into the territory and the Governor urged upon the legislators, as of first importance, 'the promotion of education and the betterment of roads and highways.' This Assembly passed thirty-one laws and seven joint resolutions, but its chief interest centered in the efforts to change their territorial institutions for those of a State government. On December 14, 1815, a memorial was adopted by the Assembly and laid before Congress on the 28th of the same month by Jonathan Jennings, Indiana's territorial delegate, praying Congress to order an election to be held in the several counties of the territory for representatives to meet in convention on a day to be appointed. The memorial called attention to the fact that the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory, had provided that 'whenever there shall be 60,000 free inhabitants therein, this territory shall be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States.'

The memorial also set forth that from a recent territorial census, the number of free white inhabitants was above 60,000. It was requested that if a convention were authorized the majority of the delegates elected thereto should determine whether it were expedient

to go into a State government, and if it were deemed expedient the convention so assembled should have the power to form a constitution and frame of government, or to provide for the election of a later convention for that purpose. In this memorial the Assembly expressed its attachment to the principles concerning 'personal freedom and involuntary servitude' which had been laid down in the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest territory.

This memorial was referred to a committee of which Mr. Jennings was chairman. On the 5th of January, 1816, Jennings reported to the House a bill to enable the people of Indiana territory to form a constitution and State government, and for the admission of the State to the Union on an equal footing with the other States. The bill, after a few amendments, was passed by Congress, and became a law by the approval of President Madison on the 19th of April, 1816. This was the Enabling Act for Indiana.

In harmony with the provisions of this act an election was held in the several counties of the territory on May 13, 1816, for members of a convention to form a State constitution. There were thirteen counties in the State and they elected forty members to the convention. From Wayne, there was Joseph Holman; from Franklin, William H. Eads and James Noble; from Jefferson, David H. Maxwell; from Clark, Jonathan Jennings and Thomas Carr; from Washington, John DePauw and William Lowe; from Knox, John Badollet, Wm. Polke and Benjamin Parke; from Gibson, Alexander Devin and Frederick Rappe. There were other men, but these are a few of the best known names.

The convention began its sessions at Corydon, June 10, 1816, and continued to meet from day to day until the 29th of June. In nineteen days it completed its work and adjourned.

Jonathan Jennings was president and Wm. Hendricks was secretary. Badollet, of Knox was chairman of a committee to prepare a preamble and a bill of rights. John Johnson, of Knox, was chairman of the committee on the distribution of governmental powers. Noble, of Franklin, was chairman of the committee on the legislative department. Graham, of Clark was chairman of the committee on the executive department. Scott, of Clark, was chairman of the committee on the judicial department. Dill, of Dearborn, was chairman of the committee on impeachment. Maxwell, of Jefferson, was chairman of the committee to consider other provisions of the constitution not included in the foregoing topics.

There were also committees on the mode of revising the constitution, on education, the militia, the franchise, and prisons.

John B. Dillon in his well known *History of Indiana* (page 559) says:

The convention that formed the first constitution of the State of Indiana was composed, mainly, of clear-minded, unpretending men of common sense, whose patriotism was unquestionable, and whose morals were fair. Their familiarity with the principles of American Independence—their territorial experience under the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787—and their knowledge of the principles of the Constitution of the United States, were sufficient, when combined, to lighten materially their labors in the great work of forming a constitution for a new State. With such landmarks in view, the labors of similar conventions in other States and territories have been rendered comparatively light.

In the clearness and conciseness of its style, in the comprehensive and just provisions which it made for the maintenance of civil and religious liberty, in its mandates, which were designed to protect the rights of the people, collectively and individually, and to provide for the public welfare—the constitution that was formed for Indiana, in 1816, was not inferior to any of the State constitutions which were in existence at that time.

The constitution of 1816 was not submitted to the voters of the State for ratification. That step in popular government was not deemed necessary. By the provisions of the constitution the officers of the territorial government were required to continue in the exercise of their duties till they should be superseded by the officers elected under the authority of the State government. The president of the constitutional convention, Mr. Jennings, was required to issue writs of election directed to the sheriffs of the several counties requiring them to cause an election to be held for governor, lieutenant-governor, representative in Congress, members of the General Assembly and sheriffs and coroners of the counties, which election was to be held on the first Monday in August, 1816. Here was a comparatively short ballot—a governor, lieutenant-governor, congressman, and two county officers. All other officers were appointive. Jennings was elected governor, receiving 5,211 votes to 3,934 votes cast for his competitor, Thomas Posey, who was at the time governor of the territory. Christopher Harrison, of Washington county, was elected lieutenant-governor, and William Hendricks was elected to represent Indiana in Congress.

The General Assembly elected in August, commenced its session at Corydon on November 4, 1816. On November 7th the oath of office was administered to Governor Jennings and Lieutenant-Governor Harrison, and the Governor delivered his inaugural address.

Thus, on the 7th of November, 1816, the territorial government of Indiana was superseded by a State government, and on December 11, the State by a joint resolution of the two houses of Congress was formally admitted to the Union of States.

A comparison of this first constitution of Indiana with that of Kentucky adopted in 1792 and that of Ohio adopted in 1803, will show how largely Indiana's fundamental law was fashioned after these two instruments of her sister States. Many parts are appropriated bodily, and it is easily seen that the new State came offering a constitution that had been largely modeled after some approved democratic pattern. All that the convention could reasonably be expected to do was to fit some ready-made pattern to our local needs. That is what they did, as a reading of the Kentucky and Ohio constitutions will show. They evolved little that was new. Their principles of government were well known principles; they were old and established. There were good, hard-headed, common-sense men in the convention, but there were no great creative political geniuses. They could not, or did not, take time to create a constitution *de novo*. They seemed to be in a hurry, though they worked for an age much slower-moving than ours. It may be recalled as an evidence of the haste, not to say the snap judgment, that was exercised in the process of making our first constitution and putting our State government into operation, that the Enabling Act was passed on April 19, the election of delegates was held on May 13 in less than four weeks; the delegates came together on June 10, four weeks later; they deliberated less than three weeks; and the constitution which they devised was not passed upon by the people at all. Naturally, the men of the convention appropriated to their use constitutional provisions already made and provided, and in so doing they acted the part usual to Anglo-Saxon constitution makers.

It has been said that the parties in political control were hurrying to bring the State into the Union before snow flew, or before the fall elections. O. H. Smith in his *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches* says that the affairs of the State were in the hands of three parties, or rather one party with three divisions, the Noble, Jennings, and Hendricks divisions. All were represented in the convention of 1816. Noble and Jennings were delegates, Jennings being the president, and William Hendricks was the convention's secretary. This was a time of 'personal politics' and an arrangement was made among these leaders and their friends to make Noble senator, Jennings governor, and Hendricks congressman. In their readiness to divide

these political plums among themselves, these leaders were naturally inclined toward dispatch, that the State might be ready for acceptance for the fall session of congress.

This was a period of the complete dominance of Jeffersonian Democracy, and constitutions were becoming more popular and flexible. Jefferson was on record as favoring a State's changing its constitution at least once within every generation. He thought a change once in twenty years might not be too often.

Somewhat in harmony with this, and it would seem in even a more liberal spirit, the constitution of 1816 provided that 'every 12th year after the constitution went into effect, at the general election held for governor, there shall be a poll opened in which the qualified electors of the State shall express by vote whether they are in favor of calling a convention or not; if there should be a majority of all the votes given at such election in favor of a convention, the governor shall inform the next General Assembly thereof, whose duty it shall be to provide by law for the election of members to the convention, the number thereof, and the time and place of meeting; which law shall not be passed unless agreed to by a majority of all the members elected to both branches of the General Assembly.' When the convention met it should have the power to revise, amend, or change the constitution—except that the constitution should 'never be altered in such a way as to authorize slavery, as that relation can originate only in usurpation and tyranny.'

So it appears that our fathers were starting off with the expectation of frequently meeting in convention to revise their State constitution. It was thirty-four years before a constitutional convention assembled again in Indiana—probably a longer period than was anticipated by the framers of the first instrument. We have been sixty-four years—almost twice as long—on the second run, in a period of much greater change.

The constitution of 1816 had not been long in operation until dissatisfaction began to arise under it. From 1830 to 1848 repeated quarrels arose between the State senate and the chief executive over the appointment of the supreme court judges, and after some abuses in appointments had occurred, it was felt that it would be better if the choice of the judges were left to election by the people. But the chief ground of difficulty seemed to lie in the lack of general laws under which local needs could be met and administered. The General Assembly had constantly to be passing laws in response to some local or personal demand until the local laws became six or seven times

more voluminous than the general laws. Divorce was then entirely a matter for legislative action. There were numerous local and special acts. To illustrate I shall name two instances among many—one for the relief of James Hardin, of Warrick county, authorizing 'said Hardin to peddle and sell goods of any kind whatever without paying license thereof in any county in the State,; and one for the relief of Silas Overman, of Grant county, against whom a court had given a judgment of \$238.00 on a surety bond. This judgment of the court was, in effect, to be submitted to a referendum in Overman's township to see whether the voters would recall the judicial decision and remit the judgment—an application of the recall which no one in recent times has ever ventured to suggest or defend. Many of the special acts were to incorporate towns and improve roads, there being no general provision for such purposes, and the constitution not requiring that the laws should be uniform for the whole State.

The General Assembly at every session was constantly being beset to pass hundreds of such personal and local acts. The evil was found to be unbearable, and there began to be a pressing demand for a new constitution to remedy the situation. There were other needs but this acted most effectively.

A referendum similar to the one we are now confronting was provided in 1849. In his annual message delivered to the houses of the General Assembly on December 6, 1848, Governor James Whitcomb recommended the passage of an act providing for submitting to the people of the State the question of calling a constitutional convention to amend the constitution of 1816. The governor gave a number of reasons for urging this step: (1) The growing burden of local and private legislation. (2) The increasing demand for biennial instead of annual sessions of the General Assembly. (3) The necessity of prescribing restrictions on the creation of public debt. (4) The desirability of requiring a two-thirds vote in each house in appropriating public funds to private individuals. (5) The universal desire for amendment.

The time was thought to be propitious, as the question would not be complicated by the excitement of a national election. Governor Whitcomb especially emphasized the importance of calling a halt upon the increasing amount of local and private legislation. For five years the amount of general legislation had remained stationary while in the same period legislation of a local and private character had grown by 350 per cent. In the last session of the Assembly

over 600 bills had passed, being more than four for each member and more than thirteen for each working day of the session. To examine thirteen bills every day for six or seven consecutive weeks seemed like an unreasonable task for the mind of the average legislator, not to speak of the governor, who was expected to examine personally all of them before signing. The task became a physical impossibility, since many of these bills piled up within the few days before the close of the session.

An act approved on January 15, 1849 provided that at the regular State election in that year, then held in August, the people might decide for or against the calling of a convention, to alter, revise, or amend the constitution of the State. Every qualified voter might vote for or against the proposition. The act provided that when a voter presented his ballot for State and local officers, at his proper voting place, the inspector of election was required to propose to him the question, 'Are you in favor of a convention to amend the constitution?' Those favoring such convention should answer in the affirmative, those against in the negative, and the answers were to be duly recorded by the clerks of election in a poll book furnished for that purpose. The inspectors and judges were to certify the number of votes for and against the convention to the clerks of the circuit courts under the same restrictions and penalties that votes for State and county offices were given and certified. These clerks were to certify to the secretary of State, subject to penalties for neglect, and the secretary of State was to lay the returns before the General Assembly. The county sheriffs were required to give six weeks' notice of this election in every county.¹

It thus appears that this law provided that the responsible election officer should put it up directly to every voter who presented a ballot to say whether or not he favored a convention. This provision led to a large vote upon the subject, almost as large as that cast for State officers. Yet in spite of this laudable effort to induce the voters to express themselves, more than 10,000 who voted for governor failed to express themselves upon the issue of the convention. It turned out fortunately that a majority of all the votes cast in the election were for the convention, though the law did not require that it should be so before a convention might be called. The total vote cast on the question of the convention was 138,918, with 81,500 votes *for* and 57,418 votes *against*, giving a majority in favor, on the convention vote, of 24,082. In the State campaign both of the leading candidates for governor, Joseph A. Wright, Democrat,

¹ *State Laws*, 1848-9, p. 36.

and John A. Matson, Whig, declared themselves in favor of the convention. There seemed to be a positive desire among the people for a change in the organic law, while there was no organized or active opposition. In the August election, 1849, Joseph Wright, of Rockville, Democrat, received 76,996 votes. Mr. John A. Matson, of Brookville, Whig, received 67,218 votes, and Mr. James H. Cravens, the Free Soil candidate, received 3,018 votes, making a total vote for governor of 147,232, with one county (Fayette) unreported on the governorship vote. A majority of the governorship vote was 73,617. The convention vote was about 8,000 above this majority. The difference between the vote on the governorship and that on the convention was a little over 10,000. That is, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the voters did not express themselves on the convention, though they were specifically asked by the election officers to do so. The surmise is that some voters obstinately refused to express themselves. If we have 650,000 voters in Indiana this year on the United States senatorship which is a fairly conservative estimate, as there are over 750,000 voters enumerated, and the proportion not voting on the convention should merely equal that of 1849 (though it is likely to exceed it), we shall find that about 50,000 voters will fail to express themselves. If these voters vote for a United States senator but not on the convention one way or the other, they will be counted in the negative, since the act referring the question to the voters requires an absolute majority of all voting before the convention is authorized. Of course the General Assembly might still call a convention regardless of the vote, but it is not likely to do so.

It does not appear that in the referendum of 1849 there was much public discussion of the subject before the people. The people were not stirred up over the question. There were no university conferences, or popular mass meetings on the subject, no franchise leagues or other organizations to press the matter on the attention of the voters, nor did the newspapers seem at all interested in the matter. I have gone through the files of the *Indiana Journal* for several weeks preceding the election without succeeding in finding a single reference to the pending proposal. Marion county voted against the convention by 347 majority, and the Democratic *Sentinel*, of Indianapolis, charged that the reason for this was that the Whig leaders were notoriously hostile to the measure and openly threw the weight of their influence as well as most of their votes against it. Mr. Defrees, the Whig editor of the *Journal*, denied this. He himself voted for the convention, and the truth was, he asserted, that very little interest was manifested on the question by any one, and many of those who

were asked by the inspectors, 'Convention or No Convention,' then heard of the proposition for the first time.² Defrees claimed that as many Whigs voted for the convention as did Democrats and returns by counties seem to bear him out. The fact was that many Whig counties voted for the convention and many Democratic counties against it, and *vice versa*. The strong Whig county of Wayne voted almost 3 to 1 for the convention, and Randolph 2 to 1; and Henry gave a decisive convention majority. Clarke, Sullivan and Washington equally strong Democratic counties, gave almost equally heavy convention majorities. Sullivan, which went for Wright for governor by a vote of 3 to 1, voted for the convention by 2 to 1. On the other hand, the Whig county of Jefferson which went for Matson by 500 majority gave also 500 majority against the convention. The voting seems to have been governed by local interest and local sentiment, not by politics nor party favor.

But since the proposal for a convention in 1849 had carried a majority of all the votes cast, the duty of the General Assembly was plain. Within the year, 1849, Governor Whitcomb had been elected to the United States Senate and the lieutenant-governor, Paris C. Dunning, had succeeded to the governorship. In his message of December 4, 1849, Governor Dunning called the attention of the General Assembly to the duty before it. This duty was to provide by law for districting the State for the election of convention delegates. Governor Dunning advised (at least publicly) that the members of the General Assembly should divest themselves of all party predilections and make a fair apportionment as a means of assuring a fair representation in the convention whose duty it would be to draw up a new constitution, and this, the governor thought, would be an initiatory step which would tend to predispose the people to adopt a new constitution when offered for their ratification. In this General Assembly the Democrats had a safe working majority with 29 senators and 59 members of the House. A bill to provide for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention was introduced in the Senate on December 4, 1849, by Mr. Randall. It passed the Senate on January 3, 1850, and the House on January 11, and was approved by the governor on January 18, 1850.

The act provided that an election for delegates to the convention should be held on the first Monday in August. The convention was to be competent to consider the constitution of the State, to make such changes or amendments as it might think proper, which amendments should afterwards be submitted to a vote of the people

² *Weekly Indiana State Journal*, August 27, 1849.

of the State, to be ratified or rejected. The delegates were to be elected as the members of the General Assembly were elected and in corresponding districts, the usual election officers, laws, processes, and penalties to apply. The county sheriffs were to attest elections to the secretary of State. The delegates numbered the same as the members of the Assembly. The delegates were to assemble on the first Monday in October, 1850, in Indianapolis, for organization by electing a president and other officers. The secretary of State was to attend and open the convention, call the lists of districts and counties, receive the credentials and perform such duties in organization as are performed by the proper officers when the General Assembly is organized.

The delegates to this convention were elected at the regular State election on August 6, 1850. The two parties put out their candidates and their names appeared on the party tickets with the other party candidates. One hundred and fifty delegates were elected, fifty senatorial delegates and one hundred representative delegates. Of the fifty senatorial delegates, thirty-three were Democrats, and seventeen were Whigs; of the one hundred representative delegates sixty-two were Democrats and thirty-eight were Whigs. In the convention as a whole there were ninety-five Democrats and fifty-five Whigs.

By the provisions of the act creating the convention its members when they assembled were required to take an oath to support the constitution of the United States and to perform faithfully the duties of their office. The powers and privileges of a legislative body were conferred upon this convention. A majority constituted a quorum to do business. The members were to receive \$3.00 per day while actually attending, and an allowance for legislative mileage.

The convention assembled on October 7, 1850. It completed its labors on February 10, 1851, making one hundred and twenty-six days in all, counting Sunday and holidays.³

The *State Journal* of October 7, 1850, spoke highly of the personnel of the convention, commending the character and spirit of the delegates, and predicting that they would perform their duties in such a way as to protect the rights and promote the prosperity and happiness of the people of the State. Of the men of the convention, we may recall a few: Horace P. Biddle, Cass and Howard; J. G. Reed, of Clark, W. S. Holman, of Dearborn; P. M. Kent, of Floyd; John

³ The late Michigan convention of 1906-7 consumed 122 days in all, from October 22 to February 21. At different times after the convention of 1851 had adjourned the local Whig meetings and organs repeatedly condemned the "Democratic constitutional convention," as they called it, for "protracting its sittings and expending huge quantities of public money." *Indiana State Journal*, July 7, 1851, and March 6, 1852.

Zenor, of Harrison; Milton Gregg, of Jefferson; Geo. W. Carr, of Lawrence; J. F. Carr, of Jackson, his brother (the father of these Carrs was in the convention of 1816); T.D. Walpole, of Madison; A.F. Morrison, of Marion; Daniel Read, of Monroe and Brown (a professor of the University, and one of the ablest and most useful men of the convention); O. P. Davis, of Parke and Vermillion; Thos. A. Hendricks, of Shelby; John I. Morrison, of Washington; Joseph Ristine, of Fountain; William M. Dunn, of Jefferson; D. Maguire and D. Wallace and R. D. Owen, of Marion; A. P. Hovey, of Posey; Schuyler Colfax, of St. Joseph.

When the convention had completed its work it recommended, and the General Assembly then sitting provided, that it should be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection at the usual election time, the first Monday in August, 1851. The voters were called upon to express themselves on two propositions: (1) The ratification or rejection of the instrument as a whole. (2) The adoption or rejection of a separate article relative to negro exclusion and colonization—a question submitted to the voters as a distinct proposition in the following form: Exclusion and colonization of negroes and mulattoes, 'Yes' or 'No.'

The proposed constitution was printed in full in the leading papers of the State and discussed with considerable interest during the five months preceding the vote. The *State Journal*, of Indianapolis, one of the leading Whig organs of the State, said that while the new constitution contained much that was objectionable, it would still pledge support to all its provisions except the negro exclusion clause. The *Madison Courier*, a strong Democratic organ, regarded the new constitution as 'immeasurably above the one now in force.'

At the regular election, August 4, 1851, the constitution was adopted by a vote of 113,230 to 27,638. There were 113,828 votes cast in favor of negro exclusion to 21,873 against.

By its own provision the constitution went into operation on November 1, 1851.

The vote for the constitution was decisive, not to say overwhelming. In his message to the General Assembly on December 2, 1851, Governor Joseph A. Wright expressed the conviction that 'as Indianians we may well challenge a parallel in the unanimity with which our people adopted the new constitution—a majority of 86,000 at the ballot box.' He urged the General Assembly to give the constitution 'a steady and energetic support' and carry out its various provisions, 'that they may be fairly tested.'⁴

⁴ *House Journal*, 1851, p. 15.

The scope of this paper and the time allotted for it will not permit me to go into detailed account of the efforts made to amend the Indiana constitution since 1851. But a few of the leading efforts in this direction should not be entirely omitted.

The new constitution had hardly gone into effect before proposals were made in the General Assembly to amend it—to restore annual legislative sessions, to require full naturalized citizenship of all foreign-born voters, to lift the sixty-day limit on legislative sessions, to allow special and local laws for the support of common schools. Such proposals were frequently made between 1853 and 1857. As early as 1859 efforts were made in the General Assembly to bring about a new convention, or, failing in this, to secure a series of amendments on the ground that provisions of the constitution made legislation under it 'difficult, tedious, and in some respects impossible, or at least inadequate to the emergencies of the case or to the wants of the citizens of the State, restricting remedies that would tend to the public good.' The vote in the General Assembly in 1859 showed that there was a popular demand for a revision, and those who opposed the new convention as the best method of bringing about the desired changes admitted that changes were desirable. One of the members, Mr. Davis, of Floyd county, spoke of the 'rickety constitution under which we now live,' and he thought that the numerous requests for amendments that had come up at every session of the General Assembly were convincing proof that the people were dissatisfied. It was charged by some of the opponents of a new convention that it was only the 'Maine law faction as voiced in the late State temperance convention' and the 'unlamented remains of the Know-nothing party which desired to exclude foreign-born citizens from the polls' who were urging changes in the constitution. The opponents of a convention thought then, as they think now, that the plan of amendment provided in the constitution—the passage by two successive legislatures and submission to the people for ratification—was 'satisfactory, ample, safer, and more economical.' It was urged with force that before resorting to a new convention the amending method should be tested. By presenting propositions singly there would be less confusion and each reform could be more forcibly presented to the people. It was urged in reply that the amending process was 'utterly impracticable;' that 'competition for priority' had defeated every proposition so far presented, since no new amendment could be proposed while any amendment was pending.

The changes that were being urged at that time related to several matters:

1. The common school system was being retarded by the 'uniform law' provision of the constitution as interpreted by the State Supreme Court. The constitution imposes a duty upon the General Assembly 'to provide by law for a general and uniform system of common schools, wherein tuition shall be without charge and equally open to all.' This was interpreted to require a proportionate uniform expenditure of revenue in all parts of the State. 'Nothing could be done anywhere in the State in advance of the progress of the darker portions.' The more enterprising and enlightened communities could not of their own accord provide more money for their schools than was provided elsewhere, but had to wait upon the more backward communities 'who were willing to close the files of progress.' This was a constant subject of irritation.

2. There was dissatisfaction over the election laws. A change was necessary to enable the General Assembly to pass a suitable registration law to prevent the colonization of voters and other frauds at the ballot box. The present system admitted 'whole shoals of immigrant voters' for want of power to fix a suitable residence requirement. Governor Ashbel P. Willard in his message of January 6, 1859, urged the passage of a law adequate 'to protect the suffrages of honest men against fraud. . . . Men have left the County of their residence; said Governor Willard, 'gone to others where they had no permanent homes, where they did not intend to remain longer than the day of election, have there cast their votes and thus determined who should be the officers and representatives of the counties they visited.' He called for severe penalties for such abuses.

3. Members objected to the technical and detailed legislative processes required by the constitution such as treating of but one subject in a bill, reading a bill three times, and especially objectionable was the provision for the amendment of laws. Many acts had been declared unconstitutional because they had not been set out in full in the amending process, as the constitution requires.

4. Others wished a restoration of annual sessions and a modified form of legislation for special and local purposes, and a constitutional change was especially desired to promote a betterment of conditions on behalf of temperance.

On March 5, 1859, the Governor signed a bill again submitting to the voters the question of calling a constitutional convention.

The question was to be voted on at the regular election in October, 1859. If a majority of the voters voted in the affirmative, then one hundred delegates were to be elected (one for each of the representative districts) on the first Monday in April, 1860. The convention was to assemble on the second Tuesday in May, 1860. Its proposed amendments were to be submitted to the people separately or together as the convention should determine. This proposal, coming so soon after the convention of 1851, was voted down by the people in the ensuing election.

Other proposals for a new convention were made in the General Assembly in 1871 and in the Special Session of 1872, and again in 1875, but they were not acted upon.

In 1879 a series of amendments were submitted to the voters:

1. To strike out the word 'white' from the suffrage requirements in order to bring the State constitution into conformity with the recently amended constitution of the United States; and to prescribe a residence of sixty days in the township and thirty days in the ward or precinct before voting; and to require that all voters be registered according to law.

2. To strike out the provision prohibiting negroes and mulattoes from voting.

3. To abandon the October election and to provide for holding all general elections in November; for holding township elections at such time as legislative acts may provide; to provide special elections for judicial officers; and to provide for the registration of all voters.

4. To strike out the word 'white' where it occurs as to enumeration of male inhabitants of the State for apportionment of senators and representatives.

5. To prohibit local laws as to fees and salaries, but providing graded compensation in proportion to population and services required.

6. To provide that the judicial power shall be vested in a supreme court, circuit courts and such other courts as the General Assembly may establish.

7. To strike out the negro exclusion and colonization clause and insert a provision to prohibit political and municipal corporations from becoming indebted to an amount in excess of two per cent of the taxable value of their property, except in case of war, foreign invasion, or other public calamity, and on petition of a majority of the property owners affected and in the discretion of the public authorities.

These amendments were approved by the governor on March 10, 1879, and were submitted to the voters on the first Monday in April (5th), 1880. They were all approved at the polls by majorities ranging from 17,000 to 50,000. But the highest vote received for any one of the amendments was 181,000, while the whole number of votes cast in the election was 380,000, the majority of which is one above 190,000. The last official enumeration of voters, taken in 1877 showed that there were 451,000 voters in the State and in the election of 1876, 434,000 votes had been cast. It will certainly be held reasonable to infer that there were as many in 1880, but the supreme court subsequently did not so infer. The constitution provides that in order to carry an amendment it shall be submitted to the electors of the State, 'and if a majority of said electors shall ratify the same, such amendment or amendments shall become a part of this constitution.' Obviously none of these amendments had carried by a majority of the voters of the State, although each of them had a good majority of those interested enough to vote on the proposals. The governor had no power to declare whether the amendments had been rejected or adopted. The matter was submitted to the supreme court for decision, and the court held that the amendments were neither ratified nor rejected, the vote being ineffectual for want of a constitutional majority. Therefore, the amendments were still pending. But the court suggested that there would be no irregularity in submitting them, or any one of them, to the voters of the State at a special election, where only the amendments themselves could be voted on; and while it requires a majority of the electors of the State to ratify an amendment to the constitution, the whole number of votes cast at the election at which the amendment is submitted may be taken as the number of the electors of the State. (*State vs. Swift*, May term, 1880.)

This decision, or the indifferent vote on which it was based, gave rise to a demand for a constitutional convention, which repeatedly found voice in the ensuing General Assemblies, but without action. Instead, a special election for the amendments was resorted to. Following the suggestion thrown out by the supreme court, the General Assembly passed an act in 1881 providing for the submission of the foregoing amendments at a special election to be held on March 14, 1881. In this election none of the amendments received as many as 130,000 votes—but little more than one-fourth of the voters of the State—but they were declared adopted and were made part of the constitution of the State.⁵ This was done by a judicial construc-

⁵ The highest vote any amendment received was 128,731.

tion of the amending clause, by means of an assumption and a legal fiction which every member of the court knew to be untrue as a matter of fact. The majority of the electors of the State had not voted for the amendments—far from it; but the political power of the courts was equal to the emergency and the amendments by a forced construction were incorporated into the fundamental law. It may have been a desirable consummation, but it must be admitted that it was done in flagrant disregard of the plain provisions of the constitution. I admit that the amending provision of the constitution is absurd in the difficulties of its working, and we may be pleased to see a court disregard or circumvent it; but there is a more orderly and law-abiding way to abrogate the constitution among a law-loving people. The constitution is as plain as the English language can make it upon this point, but the court 'construed the constitution away' by assuming that there were no more voters in the State at the time of this election than had voted upon these propositions. By which it appears that the courts may amend the constitution easily enough, though the people may not. What the courts may do in the future in declaring amendments carried is uncertain and problematical.

Two amendments, one permitting an enlargement of the supreme court and another relating to the qualifications of lawyers, were submitted to the voters at the general election of November 6, 1900. The vote on the first was 314,610 for, and 178,960 against; on the second, 240,031 for, and 144,072 against, a majority of 135,000 in one instance and 96,000 in the other. But as the total vote cast for secretary of State was 655,000 and as the amendments required a majority of this vote (327,000) the court has ruled that they were not adopted, but are still pending. The State constitution says that while an amendment is pending, 'awaiting the action of the electors, no additional amendment shall be proposed.' This bars further action toward amending the constitution until these amendments are out of the way. An amended act again submitting them (at a special election) would require three years. Any new amendment would require three more years, since it must be agreed to by two successive General Assemblies. So if the pending amendments can be gotten out of the way and new amendments be gotten by two successive General Assemblies, and if the judgment and temper of the court should again be favorable, we might, with the best of expedition, hope to get a new amendment to the constitution by 1920.

The 'lawyer amendment' was again voted on by the people at the general November election of 1910. It received 60,357 votes for

adoption, to 18,494 against. Since there were 627,133 votes cast for secretary of State, it was clearly not adopted. There was no interest in it, but it is still held to be pending and is thereby blocking other amendments.

It is now contended that these amendments are not pending; that, failing to get a majority of the votes cast, they were rejected and are out of the way. Ex-president Harrison, I am informed, expressed an opinion to this effect. In *re Denny*,⁶ decided in 1900, the court virtually reversed the ruling in the *Swift* case on this point. The Marion county Bar Association contended that the 'lawyer's amendment' had been passed in 1900, and it accordingly established rules and regulations requiring an examination for admission to the bar. One Denny contested the right of the bar to impose such a test and, while the Bar Association was sustained in the lower court, Denny was sustained by the Supreme court, which decided that the lawyer's amendment was not adopted but was rejected in 1900. Four successive General Assemblies since 1900 (1903, 1905, 1907, 1909) have approved the amendment for submission to the voters. The popular vote on the amendment in 1910 was about one-fifth of that in 1900, and, falling far short of a majority of the vote cast, it was not carried. Following the court's ruling in the *Denny* case one would suppose that the amendment was rejected but we are evidently left in doubt on that point (and as to what a future court will do with the amending provision) since in the case of *Ellingham vs Dye* in 1911 the court, in obiter dicta said: "Once again the General Assembly at its session in 1909 referred this amendment to the will of the voters at the general election in 1910, and once more it received the majority of the votes cast thereon but not a majority of the votes cast, at the election. And so it stands obstructive of further proposals for amendment, by reason of the provision of section 2 Article 16, while waiting definite action of the people." In their comments on the *Ellingham-Dye* case both the supreme court of Indiana and that of the United States recognized that in 1911 an "amendment was still awaiting the action of the electors" in this State. From these facts and conflicting rulings it appears obvious to the plain citizen that our constitution needs an overhauling in its amending process. Can the unworkable amending process be gotten rid of without a convention?

I can refer but briefly to the recent effort to give us what has been called the 'Marshall Constitution.' Instead of calling a constitutional convention, the usual process and agency for making a

⁶ 156 Indiana, 104.

new constitution, the General Assembly under the control of the Democratic party legislative caucus, agreed upon a series of amendments proposed by Governor Thomas R. Marshall, for submission to the voters of the State for ratification or rejection. This act of the 67th General Assembly of March 4, 1911, purported to be a new constitution for the State. A citizen of Marion County, John T. Dye, brought suit in the Marion Circuit Court against Lew G. Ellingham, secretary of State, and the State election commissioners, enjoining said Ellingham from certifying for the election board this legislative act to the clerks of the counties, to prevent the election commissioners from placing a statement of the proposed constitution on the ballot to be voted at the next general election. Mr. Dye in his complaint contended that the act of submission was in direct violation of the existing constitution, which prescribes a definite way in which an amendment, or a series of amendments, shall be added to the constitution. When the mode of exercising the amending power is prescribed, then the power can be exercised in no other way. The people may form an original constitution, abrogate an old one and form a new one, without restriction except as restrained by the constitution of the United States, but if they undertake to add an amendment they must do it in the way laid down in the State constitution for its own amendment.

By the defendants it was contended that the act provided not a series of amendments but a new constitution; that the people were not limited as to the method of making a new constitution; that the General Assembly, since there were no specific limitation on this power, might prescribe the mode by which the people should exercise it. And even though the act in question should be considered as a series of amendments, since the constitution does not prohibit this method of submission, it would be a valid process.

Judge Remster, of the Marion County Circuit Court, in an able decision and after a full view of the case, decided that the legislative act of 1911 proposing the Marshall constitution was void, as being beyond the legislative power to draft a new constitution. (*Dye vs. Ellingham*.) Judge Remster held that this broad power of constitution-making is inherent in the people. It is not conferred upon the General Assembly, nor can the people divest themselves of it. The power to propose amendments is not a part of the general legislative power to be exercised where there is no specific limitation, at the discretion of the General Assembly; but it was so clearly and specifically stated, that it must be exercised in the way laid down in the constitution and only in that way. The conclusion

reached by Judge Remster was that the proposed constitution or amendments are void and nugatory, consequently the same in law as an act entirely unauthorized by law.'

This decision from an able and upright judge has quite generally been regarded as sound in law. This decision upon appeal was virtually sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States which held that it had no jurisdiction in the case.

This left the people of the State facing the two alternatives, whether they would seek reforms and amendments in their constitutional law by the slow and uncertain process of the present amending power, or resort to the more democratic, thorough, and speedier process of a constitutional convention. It is this question which the people are asked to decide in the referendum vote next November. The convention has long been regarded as one of the greatest of our political inventions, the greatest agency by which democracy finds expression. It is designed for the express purpose of 'formulating the public law, to secure the popular rights, and to subordinate powerful interests to the public welfare.'*

*I wish to acknowledge the invaluable help I have received from Mr. Charles B. Kettler, of the Legislative Reference Bureau, in preparing this paper.—JAMES A. WOODBURN.

JACKSON COUNTY PRIOR TO 1850

BY JOHN C. LAZENBY, A. B., Superintendent of Schools, Andrews, Indiana.

INTRODUCTION

In undertaking an article of this sort, there must naturally be some limitations and the writer has limited himself to the four subjects indicated by the titles of the four chapters. This limits us to the consideration of the history of only two towns. Prior to 1815, Vallonia was the only settlement, and the history prior to that time, of course, centers around that settlement.

After the location of the county seat at Brownstown, in 1816, that town became the center of activities and Vallonia made little progress. Seymour, by far the largest town in the county, was not established till 1852 and hence is not included in the scope of this account.

In the history, prior to 1815, there are many traditions to be dealt with, and little means of verifying them exist. The writer has compared the various accounts and has given what seems to be the most satisfactory version. Authorities are quoted in nearly every instance and where there seems to be doubt as to the authenticity of a statement, it is indicated.

In the last three chapters, the establishment of the county, its organization, and the construction of county buildings are considered in more or less detail, in order to give an idea of the early county business and the methods by which it was carried on. Most of this information is taken directly from the county records, especially the commissioners' records, and hence it is well substantiated.

CHAPTER I. JACKSON COUNTY PRIOR TO 1815

When one travels over the Driftwood and the Muscatatuck bottoms of Jackson county today, it is difficult to realize the changes that the land has witnessed during the last hundred years. On every hand are beautiful and comfortable homes. Near them are well filled barns and surrounding both are well tilled fields, where one may see at the proper time of the year, bountiful crops of corn, wheat, oats, watermelons, nutmegs, and cow peas together with gardens and orchards, while here and there still remain small tracts of virgin forests, whose stately oaks, ashes and beeches remind one of the time when only the Indian hunters broke the silence of the

forests, as they hunted bear, deer and wild turkey for their daily meat supply. According to early accounts, a week's supply of game could be killed in a half day.¹ Single flocks of wild turkeys numbered five hundred. Deer in winter ranged in herds of ten to twenty. There were shoals of fish in the river covering half an acre. Despite this abundance of game we of today find it difficult to realize the hard conditions that confronted the early settlers. We can picture them as they made their way up, or down the river or laboriously toiled through the trackless forests on foot, or horse-back, or in ox-wagons; one can imagine them hewing out the logs for their new cabin home, or clearing the forest for the first crops, but we can never realize the hardships that such labor entailed.

We can see thriving towns and villages now and do not stop to think that at one time none of these existed, or that the little village of Vallonia was once the only business center in the community or county. On August 15, and 16, of this year, this little village, the oldest in the county, celebrated its one hundredth anniversary. The earliest settlers came several years earlier than this but business activities really began in 1813.

Tradition holds that there was a French settlement made at Vallonia in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and some persist in claiming the honor of its being the second oldest town in the State, although this last statement is the merest conjecture. However, the descendants of the earliest settlers, such as the Durhams, Schewmakers and Ewings, assert on the authority of their fathers, that log cabins stood in the field once owned by Jackson Miller near Vallonia, when the first settlers came.² Men such as Harrison, Durham, and Josiah Shewmaker, who died only a few years ago, and Columbus Ewing, still living, mention seeing these old log cabins in their early days. It is certain that there was a piece of cleared land here at the coming of the earliest settlers, but this may have been the work of Indians as Vallonia was on the direct line of travel between the settlements at Vincennes and Detroit, and as there was an abundance of fur-bearing animals in these regions, such a settlement is not at all unlikely.³

¹ Josiah Schewmaker, *Brownstown Banner*, August 26, 1874.

² Brandt and Fuller, *History of Jackson County*, 1886, 280 ff.

³ There is little doubt but that this neighborhood was a much frequented rendezvous for Indians. The fact that it was a hunting ground of the Indians makes it probable that at one time an outlying post from Vincennes was established here. The sluggish Driftwood was easily navigated, much more so than the swift Wabash or Ohio.

According to Benton's *Reminiscences*⁴ there was a French and Indian trading post located, for facility in transportation, at the confluence of the Muscatatuck and White rivers and there was a smaller post over at the site of Vallonia bearing the French name of "Vallon" meaning "a little valley." This may have had some connection with the name Valloniai. However he attributes the real origin of the name to Thomas Ewing, who being a great reader came across the word in Worcester's Dictionary, meaning or signifying "Valley of Valleys" and thought it an appropriate name for the settlement, because of its situation in the beautiful White River Valley.⁵

The territory embraced in Jackson county was acquired from the Indians by three different treaties. The treaty of 1805, made Aug. 21, 1805 at Grouseland near Vincennes, ceded all the land lying south of a line running from near Brookville in Franklin county to the northeast corner of the Vincennes tract in Orange county and included the southeast corner of Jackson county. The second treaty was known as the Harrison Purchase and was made at Fort Wayne, September 30, 1809. It included the northwest corner of Jackson county by a line running from a point on the Wabash in Parke county to its intersection with the line of 1805, in Hamilton township, two and a half miles west of Seymour. The final treaty of 1818, the "New Purchase," carried with it the remaining northeast corner of the county. The treaty of 1805 was ratified by the Senate in 1806 and in 1807 the boundary line above described was located.⁶

There is a mass of traditions as to the first settlers, and there are no means of substantiating them. In the County History of 1886 mention is made of Peter Audrian who settled with his family near Vallonia in 1805.⁷ This is the earliest settlement of which any

⁴ John H. Benton in his "Early History and Indian Reminiscences of Vallonia and Jackson County." (This sketch was written by John H. Benton, now past his eightieth year and residing in Washington, D. C., to be read at the Vallonia Centennial held this year. Mr. Benton is a member of the well known Benton family of Brownstown, and is always referred to by citizens of Jackson County as the best local authority on its history. His work will be frequently referred to in this work as "*Benton's Reminiscences*." They are published in the Brownstown *Banner* of August 20, 27 and September 5, 1913.)

⁵ Mr. Benton quotes as his authority for this statement an article published more than fifty years ago by the Honorable Wm. H. Graham, but he does not state where the article may be found. Possibly he has it as a clipping. Mr. Graham was quite a scholar and a member of the Territorial Legislature and of the First Constitutional Convention, which facts would tend to confirm his authority. The word "Vallonia" can be found in the dictionary to-day, derived from a Greek word "balania," "balanidia," which relates to a certain kind of an oak tree.

⁶ Benton's *Reminiscences*.

⁷ *Ref.*; Brandt and Fuller's *History of Jackson County*, 381, ff. The history quotes as its authority a published article of nearly fifty years ago, previous to 1886, when the history was published, but it does not name its authority.

mention has been found. Not long after 1805 Silas McCullick settled here, married a squaw of the Ox tribe of Indians and raised several children by her.⁸

It is a generally accepted fact that Aquilla and Henry Rogers settled near Vallonia in the fall of 1807 or in the spring of 1808.⁹ The Rogerses were said to have been associates of Aaron Burr, who sought refuge in the wilds of Jackson county. They are said to have come down the Ohio in canoes and landed at Charlestown landing. From there they made their way to Jackson county. Aquilla Rogers settled about two miles south of Vallonia on what is now the Peter Meahl place.¹⁰ The cabin, which he is said to have built, is still standing and its pitcure appeared not long ago in the *Indianapolis Star*. Later, Aquilla Rogers went away and returned with a wife. They continued to live here till 1819 when they went farther to the northwest where it is said their descendants live to this day.¹¹

An article in the *Jackson County Democrat* of 1852 mentions a man by the name of Huffman, who is believed to have settled in Jackson county but the exact spot is not known.¹² His son was captured at the Pigeon Roost Massacre, carried off to Canada, and was afterward restored through efforts of the United States government. According to a statement by Columbus Ewing, James Hutchinson and others settled here as early as 1807.¹³

The first land entries were made in June, 1808, by Thomas Ewing and William Pravens, both of Clark county.¹⁴ They entered the northwest and southwest quarters of section 31 town 5, range 4, lying along the river at or below the present railroad bridge below Vallonia. In 1809, Samuel Ewing of Perryville, Ky., and father of Thomas entered fractional sections 29 and 30 containing 1006 acres, the entire tract lying along the Indian bundary line east of the town. However, it is not known that Ewing ever visited the town at any time. In 1809, entries were also made by James Hutchinson, Isaac Holeman and Thomas Smith. In 1810 there were

⁸ This is also mentioned by Jas. Burcham, in his reminiscences, published in the *Brownstown Banner*, January 3, 1874, but the name is spelled slightly differently.

⁹ This fact is mentioned in nearly all the articles and authorities investigated, but there is a difference of opinion as to whether Aquilla was accompanied by his brother Henry or not.

¹⁰ *Seymour Daily Republican*, August 6, 1913.

¹¹ The date 1819 is evidently wrong, for there is mention of Aquilla Rogers in the *Commissioners' Record of Jackson County* for August 22, 1822.

¹² This article is quoted in Brandt and Fuller's *History of Jackson County*, p. 382, but there are no files of the *Brownstown* papers earlier than that of the *Banner*, beginning in 1869.

¹³ This is a statement quoted by Mr. Benton. Columbus K. Ewing, son of Thomas Ewing and grandson of James Hutchinson, who were among the early settlers, is still living near Vallonia. He was born in 1833, but is still remarkably active for a man of eighty.

¹⁴ Benton's *Reminiscences*.

five entries, including the names of James McGee, Samuel Burcham, Abraham Hart, and Robert Sturgeon who was later killed by the Indians. His entry, section 8, town 4, range 4, was completed in 1815 by William Graham, member of the Convention of 1816, who lived on it till his death in 1853. In 1811, William Davenport, Jacob Persinger, and Thomas Ewing were the only patentees. Ewing entered the southwest quarter of section 20, town 4, range 4, situated along the Muscatatuck at Millport, and it was assigned to John DePauw for mill and ferry purposes. There was no entry in 1812 and only one, by James Dowden, in 1813. The lands entered prior to 1811 were generally occupied by their owners.

James Burcham in his reminiscences tells how his father and family came in 1810, and settled a little northwest of the M. B. Singer place. He relates how they came up the river, landed in the evening, made preparations to camp for the night, and how they prepared to build a home. The building was small, but eight families, all there were in the county, were called in to help. However, more people came in that year and the next. He gives the names and the locations of the farms of several of the neighboring settlers. There were no civil officers, except the justice and constable, till after the war, and Mr. Burcham claims that persons desiring to marry had only to post three notices ten days ahead and call in a justice.

According to the *Indiana Gazetteer*, Vallonia was laid out in 1810 by John McAfee, Thomas Ewing, and J. B. Durham. This was the frontier settlement during the War of 1812 and was much exposed. The houses were well fortified and the citizens were always ready when called upon for ranger service.¹⁵ Other early settlers besides those mentioned, were Judge McGee, McKinney Carter, William Crenshaw, William Graham, Vincent Lockman, Major Beem, George Isminger, Leonard C. Schewmaker, Thomas Carr, Daniel McCoy, William Dowden, Robert Holmes, John Sage, and many others who have been prominent in Jackson county history.

Ewing, McAfee and Durham together with Thomas Carr all had been residents of Mercer county, Kentucky, but had lately moved over to Clark county, Indiana Territory, and had come from there to form the settlement at Vallonia. William Graham, already mentioned as a scholar and a man of political influence, came directly from Kentucky. Josiah Schewmaker estimates that between thirty and forty families were in the county in 1814. Of these, three-fourths were from Kentucky, and the other fourth from Tennessee, Virginia, and a few from the eastern States. Most of the families were above

¹⁵ Chamberlain's *Indiana Gazetteer*, 1849, 406.

the average in intelligence.¹⁶ Food was scarce for the early settlers. The first of them had to bring their corn with them. Sassafras tea was used. Hominy could always be had when there was a good corn crop, and generally some kind of meal, though it had to be ground in a hand mortar at first.¹⁷ Burcham says that Aquila Rogers had a mill on the branch at Vallonia in 1810, but other statements differ as to who owned it and as to the time of starting it. Other mills were built later, but they could not supply the demand, and usually standing grists were kept at the mill. Saw mills and distilleries were often found in connection with the grist mills. One of the best patronized mills was that run by the DePauws at Millport on the Muscatatuck.

The Indians were peaceable until the early part of 1812,¹⁸ when the War of 1812 broke out there were signs of Indian hostility. Captain John Berry, Thomas Ewing, James Rogers, Michael Beem, Alexander Craig, and William Graham, constituted a party of six, who, in 1811 went in search of a horse stolen from a man named Lindsey in Washington county. They pursued the Indians ten miles north of the site of Indianapolis and had many thrilling experiences. Thomas Ewing came near shooting a friendly Delaware Indian. When one of the party woke up in the morning after a heavy rain, he found himself sleeping in a puddle of water. However, they finally met some friendly Delaware Indians who guided them back to Fort Vallonia which they reached in January 1812.¹⁹

Ketcham, in his autobiography, as quoted by Benton (Benton's *Reminiscences*) also gives an account of the killing of Hinton in the Cherry Bottoms near the Shield's bridge on April 7, 1812. Hinton with his family lived with the families of Cox and Ruddick about two and one half miles above where Brownstown now stands. Hinton's killing, while in search of his horse, was the first act of Indian hostility. He was scalped and his body thrown into the shallow water at the river's edge. Most of the horses were stolen. As a result two companies of rangers were sent to Vallonia to guard the settlers. Two other men were killed about the same time, who, according to James F. Burcham, were Daniel and Jacob Solida who were killed the same day, one a few miles, the other several miles southeast of Sparks, then McGowan's ferry.

¹⁶ Josiah Schewmaker, *Brownstown Banner*, August 26, 1874.

¹⁷ *Brownstown Banner*, September 2, 1874.

¹⁸ Mr. Benton quotes from an autobiography of John Ketcham, which he possesses, as follows: "In April, 1811, he settled on fractional section 4, town 5, range 4 (at Brownstown.) The Indians were numerous and friendly in that portion of the territory until after the Tippecanoe battle, November 7, 1811, at which the Delaware tribes expressed dissatisfaction and many Indians, but not all, left our part of the county for the North."

¹⁹ Brandt and Fuller's *History of Jackson County*, 816.

Ketcham also says that there were upwards of seventy families here at the beginning of the War.²⁰ Those remaining built block houses and forts for their safety. John Sage built a fort on his place near the site of the White Church; Abraham Huff and others built one near the mouth of what is now Huff creek; John Ketcham and other built one where Brownstown now stands, although this is disputed by some; and James Burcham one on what is now the M. B. Singer farm. James Burcham, in his reminiscences, gives a good description of the fort and states that it was occupied by nine families during the War. There were two skirmishes and frequent alarms there during the war but no bloodshed.

However, the principal fort was at Vallonia. This fort consisted of a stockade enclosing about one and one half acres, and was formed of puncheons ten feet in height, planted three feet in the ground. Blockhouses were built at each corner to guard against approach to its sides, and the Vallonia branch running through it furnished a bountiful supply of fresh water. It was not completed until January, 1813. There were no attacks, but frequent alarms and constant efforts at horse stealing by the Indians.²¹

Mr. Benton mentions the fact that there was published in the Brownstown *Banner* in the fall of 1864 a letter from Captain John Zenor, dated at Corydon in 1812. The letter relates that he came on the invitation of the settlers from that place to Vallonia in that year to help eat a Fourth of July dinner. In the same letter he relates that he helped draw a seine in White River that afternoon, that the "rumors of Indian disturbances were without foundation" and that on their return some of the men drank too much whiskey of which there was always a bountiful supply. One of the men lost his blanket over on Walnut Ridge and failed to find it on a return trip of several miles. Captain John Tipton, who left Corydon July 5, was at Vallonia about the same time, and the two companions returned together according to the Captain's account.

The Pigeon Roost Massacre occurred September 3, 1812, at which twenty-three men, women and children were killed. This caused great alarm on the part of the settlers and increased watchfulness

²⁰ Other authorities say there were ninety. Brandt and Fuller's *History of Jackson County*, 315, says there were ninety-three, of whom seventy moved away and the names of the twenty-three remaining are given.

²¹ This description of the fort was given Mr. Benton by Josiah Schewmaker before his death in 1893. Mr. Schewmaker saw the fort while it was still occupied, when he came with his parents from Knox County, Kentucky, in 1814.

in the various forts.²² In the same month occurred the murder of Buskirk and Sturgeon. Ketcham's account says that Absalom Buskirk and his brother-in-law, said to be either Ketcham or Reddick, took a two-horse team to the fields to get corn and pumpkins.²³ Either in the fields or on the return home Buskirk was killed, and his two horses were taken by the Indians. The body was brought to Ketcham's fort that evening. The next day John Johnson, Robert Sturgeon, and others, came and took it to Huff's fort for burial. As they returned home Sturgeon was killed. Mr. Benton relates the details of the killing as they were given to him, in 1855, by Frederick Miller, who was a nine-year-old boy in the fort at the time. He says that Sturgeon, in the face of warning from the rest, proposed to be the first to reach the fort. The rest of the party had hardly reached the top of the hill by the Half-mile Branch, above Vallonia, when they heard shots, and rushing forward, they saw Sturgeon down on the ground and surrounded by savages. A shot had broken the wrist of his bridle hand which caused him to be thrown from his horse and placed at the mercy of the savages. That night a party of six composed of Abraham Miller, Thomas Ewing, Richard and Neely Beem, Joseph Breton and a sixth whose name could not be recalled,²⁴ went to the scene of the murder, tied up the body in a blanket, and brought it to the fort. They were accompanied on this errand by fierce dogs.

In 1812, Captain Duvall of Salem, according to Ketcham's account, while scouting up White river with a squad of men, came across the Indians laden with the spoils of the Pigeon Roost Massacre. Those that were mounted cast off their packs and escaped, but two that were on foot shot John Zink who pursued them. He was taken to Ketcham's fort, was attended by Dr. Lamb, of Salem, but died before reaching Vallonia, on his way to Salem.²⁵

²² Columbus Ewing says his mother related to him that some of the settlers of Vallonia visited the scene of the Massacre and brought home some of the bloody clothing, which was washed and used. He accounts for the settlers being there because of the scarcity of mills in the vicinity of Vallonia, which caused the settlers to visit mills in that locality.

²³ There are various conflicting accounts of these murders. The one given, is that by John H. Benton, based on Ketcham's "Autobiography." Columbus Ewing asserts that Buskirk was hunting when shot, and not hauling corn and pumpkins; and that Sturgeon's foolhardiness was caused by intoxication. Mr. Benton states, on the authority of his mother, that Buskirk was murdered near the crossing of Brownstown and Ewing streets in the town of Brownstown. Ketcham's account is the one most frequently given.

²⁴ This is the authority of Columbus Ewing, whose father, Thomas Ewing, was in the company.

²⁵ Ketcham mentions in this connection the killing of old Mr. Huffman, the wounding of his wife and daughter, and the capture of his son, which is referred to earlier as happening at the Pigeon Roost Massacre. Ketcham says it occurred later in the year at or near the scene of the Massacre. He says the boy went away with the Indians again after he was ransomed.

In 1813, trouble began by the killing of George Doom, (in some cases spelled Dome) a militiaman, and the severe wounding of Ketcham himself, according to Ketcham's account, while they were returning from an errand at the home of Joshua Lindsey, a couple of miles above the site of Brownstown, on what is now the Rockport road. A lieutenant, with twenty men, came from Vallonia and carried the dead body back to Lindsey's where they stayed all night. Next day they left William Ruddick and two others to bury him, and went on a fruitless search after the Indians. On the same day Ruddick and his companions were ambushed. In the affray Ruddick was slightly injured and one of the Indians was severely injured.

Captain John Tipton mentions the killing of Doom in his official report of "Aprille" 24, 1813, as occurring on March 18. In the same spring Tipton was promoted to the rank of major, and placed in command of the fort at Vallonia. When he arrived at the fort, evidently, after the killing of Doom, he took twenty-nine men, went up Driftwood river twenty-five miles, and met a party of Indians on an island in the river. Here a fight ensued, which Tipton characterized as a "smart skirmish" lasting only twenty minutes. He dislodged the Indians from the island, and forced them to swim to safety, leaving their boats behind. According to the Captain's account, one Indian was killed on the ground and several were seen to sink in the river.²⁶ The battle must have been fought shortly before or after April 1, 1813.

The Captain's report, as given by Benton, further states that on April 16, 1813, two men were killed, one wounded and eight horses stolen by the Indians eight miles northwest of Vallonia. Ketcham in his autobiography says that this happened in the Flinn settlement near Leesville. One of the men killed was a Mr. Guthrie, the other, reported killed, was a Mr. Flinn, who was captured, but escaped and made his way back in the fall of 1814.²⁷ Burcham tells of the great alarm caused by the news and how all the neighbors sought refuge in his father's fort. Captain John Tipton, according to his journal, followed the Indians for three days with thirty-one men. But a surprise was prevented by the premature firing by one of the advance guards. Ketcham relates that Tipton was so angry over this that he wept like a child and was tempted to tomahawk the offending person.

²⁶ The hundredth anniversary of the battle of Tipton's Island was celebrated by a sham battle and the erection of a monument on the site of the battle about two miles north of Seymour. The thousand-dollar monument was contributed by Tipton S. Blist, of Seymour, a descendant of General Tipton. For a fuller account, see the *Indianapolis News*, June 14, 1913. See also *Indiana Magazine of History*, December, 1913.

²⁷ *Brownstown Banner*, July 15, 1874.

Ketcham also relates that in the spring of 1813, four companies of mounted rangers were authorized by the general government to be organized at Lawrenceburg, Madison, Charleston, and Vincennes. The Charleston company, commanded by Captain James Bigger, was made up mainly at that place but was recruited at Vallonia by ten or twelve men who had been shut up in blockhouses and forts in the fork of White river for more than a year. Ketcham was the orderly sergeant of the company. The companies of Captain Bigger, and of Captain Williamson Dunn from Madison, which had collected at Vallonia about the middle of June, went, under General Joseph Bartholomew, to the upper Indian towns on the West Fork of White river. During the two years service that followed, the only encounter was at Strawtown in Hamilton county. Ketcham described the battle and told of the wounding of David Hayes. He was carried on a horse litter to the mouth of Flatrock above Columbus where two canoes were made to carry him to Vallonia, where his wife and family were; but he died soon after reaching there.

According to Benton, the son of Hayes, George W., contests with Ewing Durham the distinction of being the first white child born in the county. Both were born in the fort in January 1812. Ewing Durham was born January 3, 1812, but Hayes could not tell the exact date of his birth which leaves the matter in doubt.²⁸ Another authority claims that Catharine Miller, daughter of Abraham Miller, was the first, being born in 1811.

A considerable number of peaceful Indians remained in Jackson county after 1813, the stockades at Vallonia and the neighboring places continued to be kept up until 1814, and the settlers were careful to avoid surprises.²⁹ Burcham says that the settlers kept soldiers in the field during the summer and fall of 1814. Captain Bigger was still in command at Vallonia and different families kept from one to five soldiers as they were able.

In 1813, when the territorial General Assembly met at Vincennes, the capital was changed to Corydon. William Graham from Vallonia, representative from Washington county, Samuel Milroy and an unnamed third person were appointed as a committee to select the new capital. Mr. Graham cast the minority vote for Vallonia which made it lack one vote of becoming the capital of the territory and for a while the capital of the State.³⁰ While it is a little past

²⁸ Brandt and Fuller's *History of Jackson County*, 391.

²⁹ *Brownstown Banner*, July 15, 1874.

³⁰ This is Mr. Benton's account. He designates it as a story. The citizens of Vallonia are fond of repeating it, but the writer is rather skeptical, as he has never seen it verified from the official records.

the period with which we are dealing, Tipton's account of his journey to Indianapolis in 1820 to select a site for the new State capital is also worth noticing at this point. His daily account of the journey sheds some interesting light on his sojourn here in earlier years.³¹ Tipton started from Corydon May 17, 1820, stopped at Salem on the 18th, and left there at eleven a.m. He crossed the Muscatatuck at a cost of 25 cts. and stopped at Colonel Durham's in Vallonia who was also a commissioner. Here they found Gen. Joseph Bartholomew, also one of the commissioners, Gen. John Carr, and Captain Dueson (spelling doubtful) of Charleston, who were going out to look at the country. From here the account is given in his own words as follows:

Friday 19:—We set out early. Stopped at Brownstown, had breakfast, paid 50c. Set out at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 9. At 1 stopt at Captain J. Shields. After dinner we set out. Captain Shields went with us. This evening crossed the river at the lower rapids. After traveling about seven miles thru good land, encamped and stretched our tents near a pond. This is the first time I have stretched or slept in a tent since 1814. Sat. 20th, Capt. Shields left us and returned home. We set out before sunrise. At 45 p. 6, came to John Ruddick's who lives on section 9, Township 8, north of range 6 west. Fine land. Paid 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ cts. At 15 p. 12 came to upper rapids of Driftwood at the place where we made a bark canoe to carry a wounded man down to Vallonia, on the 20th of June 1813.³¹ Stopt. Let our horses graze. Set out at one and at 15 p. came to John Berry's who lives on S. 5, T. 10 N., R. 5, E. Good land, good water and timber.

Following this is the account of his trip to the present site of Indianapolis, and the picking of the site. In this account, he mentions camping on Sunday, May 21, 1820, at a place where he camped with General Bartholomew in June 1813. On the same day he found a tree on which he had carved his initials when he was there seven years before. On his return trip he stopped over night with Captain J. Shields, breakfasted at Brownstown, called on Colonel Durham and William Graham at Vallonia, and on General DePauw at Millport. From there he went to Salem for the night and then on to Corydon. He was gone, in all, twenty-seven days for which he received \$58.

³¹ This portion of the diary is copied from the *Indianapolis News*, April 17 and 19, 1879.

³² This must have been David Hayes, previously referred to in connection with the battle at Strawtown, Hamilton County.

CHAPTER II. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COUNTY AND ITS DIVISIONS

Jackson county was created by the act of the territorial General Assembly, approved December 18, 1815. By that act, the boundaries were laid down as follows: Beginning at a point on the East Fork of the White river, where the line dividing sections 4 and 5, in range 2, east, town 3, north, crosses the same, thence due north to the Indian Boundary line, thence with said boundary line eastward to the point where the said line intersects the northern boundary line of the Grouseland purchase, thence with the last mentioned line eastwardly to the point where the line dividing ranges 7 and 8, east, crosses the same, thence with the last mentioned line west to the east fork of Muscatatuck river, thence down said river, with the meanders thereof, to the junction of Driftwood Fork of White river thence down the same, with the meanders thereof, to the place of beginning.

The county was called Jackson after the hero of New Orleans, and was granted all the rights, privileges and jurisdiction which belong to a separate county, with the provision that all legal proceedings already begun in the then counties of Washington and Jefferson, from which the new county was formed, should be completed in those counties and that all territorial and county taxes already due in the bounds of the new county should be collected and paid in the same manner as if the new county had not been formed.

Alexander A. Meek, a well known lawyer of Jefferson county, Joseph Bartholomew of Clark county, Peter McIntosh of Harrison county, Ralph Cotton of Switzerland county, and William Lindley of Washington county were appointed to select a permanent seat of justice for the county, and were directed to meet at the house of John Ketcham on Driftwood river on the second Monday of February next, 1816. The associate judges of the circuit court, were, within twelve months after establishing the seat of justice, to erect the necessary buildings thereon. Until the county seat was selected and suitable accommodations made, all county business was to be transacted at Vallonia.

As soon as the Indian title to the lands north of and adjoining the lands already purchased, and sold by the United State was secured, all that tract of country north of the said county of Jackson, and south of the line dividing townships 7 and 8, north, and lying between ranges 3 and 8, east, was to be attached to and become a part of the said county of Jackson, and the said line dividing townships

7 and 8, north, should be the permanent northern boundary of the county. The permanent northern boundary of Jefferson county was established in the same act and provision was made for the organization of a new county to the east of Jackson as soon as the inhabitants amounted to two hundred rank and file on the muster roll. This became Jennings county in 1816, and a small strip off the eastern part of Jackson county was added to it.

At the session of the special court for county purposes, held at Vallonia on May 7, 1816, by Associate Judges Kitchell and Ketcham, the county was divided into Jackson, Brownstown, Driftwood, and Flinn townships.³² Jackson township began on the Muscatatuck river,³³ two miles east of range 4, thence running due north to the Indian boundary. All east of said boundary or line was to form the one township named as above.

Brownstown township was bounded by the western line of Jackson township. Beginning at the mouth of Griffey's creek, it extended up the said creek, thence with the knobs to opposite the Half-Mile Branch above Vallonia, thence to the mouth of the Branch and finally in a north course to the Indian boundary.

Driftwood township was bounded on the east side by Brownstown township to the Driftwood river, thence down said river to a point where the line east would leave Samuel Burcham on the south side of the said line and a line south from that point would divide the farms of the said Burcham and McKinney Carter and to continue till it strikes the Muscatatuck, thence with the boundary of the county to the beginning.

All the rest of the county was to be called Flinn township, as the Flinn's were prominent settlers there. On May 8, 1816, slight changes were made in the boundaries of Brownstown and Jackson townships and of Brownstown and Flinn townships. On December 6th, 1816, and February 10th, 1817 the boundaries of Driftwood and Flinn townships were rearranged.

On May 11, 1818, Jesse Evans, John Arthur, and others petitioned the commissioners for a new township southeast of Brownstown township. The commissioners ordered that the township be called Grassy Fork and that it be laid out beginning at the Muscatatuck where line crosses that river in range 4, town 4, thence between sections

³² Most of the following account is gathered from the County Commissioners' Records in the auditor's office at Brownstown. Separate references are not given, as they can be found by the date, which will be given in most instances.

³³ It is interesting to note the various ways of spelling this name. In the early records, it is spelled in every conceivable way. The most usual way now is Muscatatuck. See the article on "Indiana Geographical Nomenclature" in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, September, 1912.

21 and 22, thence north to the line dividing towns 4 and 5 to Grassy Fork creek, thence up that creek to an east line dividing section 17 and 18 to the river.

On May 8, 1820, in response to a petition from sundry inhabitants of Brownstown township, the new township of Hamilton was established on the north side of Driftwood river so as to include all that part of Brownstown township which lay on the north side of said river above White creek, including all that part of the New Purchase on the north side of the river as far as the county line.

At the May session, 1821, a petition from sundry inhabitants of Jackson county from the Salt creek settlement asked for a new township running eastward with the line between townships 5 and 6, from the county line to the White river Knobs, thence running with the Knobs to the county line adjoining the late purchase, thence with the county line to the place of beginning. In response to the petition, the board ordered the township, or election district, to be established, agreeable to the above petition, with the boundaries named and bearing the name of Salt creek township.

On August 13, 1821, Redding township was established. As laid out, the boundaries began on the Brookville road above Crane's where the said road crossed the section line dividing the sections 23 and 24 in town 6, range 5, thence on the Brookville road to the county line, thence north to Sand creek, down that creek to Driftwood river, thence down the river to the section line dividing sections 13 and 14, and along that line south to the beginning. Arrangements were also made for the time and place of holding elections. On February 11, 1822, a small part of Jackson township was added to Redding township.

Since the General Assembly had taken off the west part of the county which was then a part of Flinn township, and attached it to Lawrence county,³⁴ on February 10, 1823 Flinn township was abolished. All of Driftwood township west of Driftwood river was attached to the township formerly named Flinn and the whole was to be called Carr township after a prominent family of the district. The only other change in the county boundary was in 1828, when the northern boundary of the county was extended. Slight changes were also made in the boundary between Brownstown and Jackson townships on February 13, 1831. On January 3, 1832, the commissioners ordered all land on the east side of Vernon Fork of the Muscatatuck to be separated from Grassy Fork township and to be called Vernon township. May 6, 1833, upon the petition of citizens

³⁴ *Laws of Indiana, 1822-23, 27.*

of Carr and Salt creek townships, the Board of Commissioners took into consideration the propriety of laying off the new township of Owen and making three out of the two named above. This was ordered to be done, but the boundaries as laid down by the commissioners are ill defined.

Finally in the early part of 1841, the boundaries of each township were rearranged and clearly defined, and Washington township was created. Since then, slight changes have been made among them, changes in the boundaries of Carr and Owen townships, on June 7, 1842, and March 7, 1843. Other changes were made but the general outline of the townships has remained practically the same to the present day.

CHAPTER III. COUNTY ORGANIZATION

Agreeable to the action of the General Assembly of the Indiana Territory authorizing the associate judges of the circuit courts to hold special courts for county purposes etc., the associate judges of Jackson county met in the town of Vallonia January 3, 1816.³⁶ The commission of Joseph Kitchell as first associate judge was produced; and being sworn according to law to support the constitution of the United States, and having taken the oath more effectually to prevent duelling, passed by the General Assembly in 1814, Kitchell took his seat, as soon as the said oaths were certified on the back of the commission and the commission publicly read. The same procedure was followed in the case of John Ketcham, the second associate judge, and the two were seated together. John Milroy took the oath as clerk and recorder, and Wickliff Kitchell as sheriff.

At the same session, it was ordered, on motion, that the petition of sundry inhabitants for a review of a road from John Ketcham's to the corner of section 24 on the Indian boundary be read, and that viewers be appointed to view and lay out a road by the nearest and best way from said Ketcham's to the corner of said section. The same petition further prayed that viewers be appointed to view and lay out a road from Joseph Kitchell's where the Quaker road now turns off from the road above mentioned, then to get the "nearest" and best way to intersect the county road leading from Madison to Deputy's settlement. Said petition being read the first time it was ordered to be filed. On motion, ordered that the court adjourn till nine o'clock the next day. Such were the proceedings of the first day.

³⁶ Most of the material for this chapter has been drawn from Commissioners' Records, but some other sources are used. Reference to the records may be made by the date given.

On the second day, William Graham, Henry Rogers, and John Sage were appointed trustees to lease School section 16, town 4, range 4. Isaac Scott was recommended for coroner, and Richard Wells and Charles Cole for justices of the peace. On motion it was ordered that James Hutchinson be appointed supervisor of roads, to have all the hands above the creek running through Vallonia to the creek on which Crabb's mill is built, and to work the road from Vallonia to the creek between John Ketcham's and Robert Rogers'. John McCormick and Isaac Holman were also appointed road supervisors, and the limits of their jurisdiction laid down including New Natchez.³⁷ Isaac Scott, James Salmon, and John Lindsey were appointed viewers of the road from Ketcham's to the Indian boundary. Solomon Reddick, William Reddick, and Enoch Cox were appointed viewers to view the road from the house of Joseph Kitchell to intersect the road from Madison to Deputy's settlement. Samuel Burcham and Zephaniah Dowden were appointed supervisors from the creek in Vallonia to the "Mishachatack." Jesse Durham, John Reddick, and William Reddick were appointed overseers of the poor. McKinney Carter was appointed constable. The court then adjourned sine die.

At a special session, February 15, 1816, the report of the commissioners, appointed at the last session of the General Assembly, to fix the county seat was heard, but this will be treated in another chapter.

On May 6, 1816, William Flinn and James Trotter were appointed justices of the peace for Guthrie's or Flinn's settlement. On May 8, tavernkeeper's were ordered to pay \$1.00 to the clerk and \$2.00 to the local authorities at the place of business. The list of charges for victuals and drink is left vacant.

On July 10, 1816, the salary of the judges was rated at two dollars per day and the sheriff was allowed \$8.75 for keeping William Shields as prisoner for eight days. His bill included charges for the board of the prisoner and for the board and hire of the guard.

On September 16, 1816, Cyrus Douglass succeeded Joseph Kitchell as first associate judge. On January 7, 1817 associate judges, Cyrus Douglas, and John Ketcham, were each allowed twenty dollars for their year's services, and sheriff Wickliff Kitchell was allowed fifty dollars as his salary for the year 1816. On June 30, 1817, there was a special session of court under Leonard C. Schewmacher and James McGee, but here the commissioners supplant the judges and the

³⁷ This was a town laid off on paper, North-east of Brownstown, by Joseph Kitchell, as a rival claimant for county seat honors. No town was ever built there.

court records change to the commissioners' record. On February 10, 1817, Abraham Huff, John Reddick, and Thomas Carr qualified as commissioners according to the law passed by the General Assembly, December 17, 1816. They ordered that the qualified electors elect three justices of the peace in Driftwood township, three in Brownstown township, two in Jackson, and two in Flinn township, the election to be held on February 22, 1817. May 13, 1817, Alexander C. Craig was appointed county treasurer. On August 11, 1817 Leonard C. Schewmaker and James McGee were allowed \$18.00 each for services as associate judges, and Cyrus Douglas was allowed \$4.00 for the same. Wickliff Kitchell, former sheriff, was allowed \$19.01 for former services. On November 11, 1817, William Crenshaw is mentioned as clerk and was ordered to procure a county seal in the shape of a piece of ordnance. On May 11, 1818, Charles Crabb was appointed lister with about the same duties as the present assessor. On February 18, 1819 the same Mr. Crabb was appointed commissioner by the associate judges in place of John Reddick who resigned. Crabb was succeeded on August 9, 1819 by Mordecai Reddick. May 11, of that year, Jonas Crane was appointed inspector of flour, beef, and pork in the county. Mordecai Reddick was succeeded by James Hamilton, as commissioner, on August 12, 1822. August 13, of that year, John Elliot was appointed county treasurer in place of Alexander C. Craig, deceased, and he was succeeded February 10, 1823, by David Benton who was reappointed in 1824. May 12, 1823, Obadiah M. Crane was appointed by the associate judges as commissioner to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Abraham Huff. August 11, 1823, General Iseminger qualified as commissioner. In August 1824, Abel Finley and Jesse Roland appeared with McGee and Schewmaker as associate judges. On January 3, 1825, Charles Crabb was appointed treasurer and Jonathan Tullis, pound-keeper.

On September 13, 1824, was the first meeting of the board of justices agreeable to an act of the General Assembly to regulate the method of doing county business, approved January 31, 1824. William Williams was elected president of the board. May 5, 1829, Allen Shepherd was recommended to the governor for the office of surveyor as the office had been vacant heretofore. Such is the record of the early office holders. The board of justices held sway until 1831 when at a general election, held in the county on the first Monday in August 1831, Jacob Wells was elected county commissioner for three years, Matthew Tanner for two years and Mordecai Reddick for one year. They and their successors have continued to constitute the commissioners' court.

In this connection it should be mentioned that on May 14, 1822, Ben, a man of color, was allowed \$3.00 for services for four days attending "fiers" for the board of county commissioners. The same allowance was made on August 13, 1822. Another of the several accounts is on September 8, 1829, when Anthony Goodwin, a man of color, was allowed \$1.50 for janitor work in the court house. On March 5, 1824, mention is made of help rendered to Richard, a man of color, under the Poor Act. Mention is made of these instances because of the prevalence of negroes, especially mulattoes, in the county in its earlier days. Columbus Ewing says they were the best laborers to be had. He also describes the practice of roping negroes as carried on at his father's store in Vallonia. They usually came for something to eat and were immediately roped and handcuffed. If any reward was offered for them at the post office, they were held for it.

Turning now to the county finances, on Thursday, September 19, 1816, the first rate of taxation was laid down as follows:

First rate land	37½ cts. per 100 acres
Second rate land	25 cts. per 100 acres
Third rate land	12½ cts. per 100 acres
For each horse	37½ cts
For each store	\$20.00
For each tavern	\$2.00

It is interesting to note that each horse was rated as high as 100 acres of first rate land. On January 17, 1817, Sheriff Kitchell reported that all the taxes, after deducting delinquents and the per centum for collecting, were \$228.93½. County orders were taken up, and wolf scalps paid for amounting to \$158.21, leaving a balance of \$70.72½.

A new tax rate was levied on May 12, 1817, which is worthy of comparison with that of September 19, 1816. It is as follows:

First rate land, 100 acres	\$.50
Second rate land, per 100 acres .....	.43¾
Third rate land, per 100 acres .....	.25
For each horse .....	.37½
For every retail store	20.00
For every tavern license	10.00

Wolf scalps were paid for at the rate of \$1.00 each. The report of A. C. Craig, county treasurer was made November 10, 1817. The amount received was \$445.09¾. The amount paid out was \$431.50¾, leaving a balance of \$13.59. A comparison with the report of Jan-

uary 7, 1817, shows that the receipts and expenditures during the year had nearly doubled. In the tax levy of May 11, 1818 some changes are worth noting. Third rate land had risen to $31\frac{1}{4}$ cts. per 100 acres. Town lots were assessed 50 cts. on the \$100.00. In 1821 were further changes. The collector was ordered to collect a poll tax of 50 cts. on all male persons over twenty-one years of age, $37\frac{1}{2}$ cts. on all horses, mules, or asses; 50 cts. on gold watches; 25 cts. on silver watches; what the law directs on pleasure carriages; 25 cts. on each head of work oxen; \$5.00 on all ferriages except that of Stephen Sparks' and \$7.50 on that. On March 14, 1822, the tax subject to collection for county purposes on all lands was ordered to be the amount of one third the State tax, and on other articles the same as before.

On May 3, 1825, the board of justices laid down the following rates of taxation which show some radical increases:

Horses, mules, etc., over three years old	\$.37
Work oxen .....	.25
Four-wheel pleasure carriages	2.00
Two-wheel pleasure carriages	1.00
Gold watches	1.00
Silver and pinch-back watches .....	.25
Each poll .....	.25
First rate land, per 100 acres	1.00
Second rate land, per 100 acres .....	.75
Third rate land, per 100 acres .....	.50
Town lots, on each \$100 value .....	.50
Retailing merchandise, over \$1000. in value	\$15.00 per yr.
Retailing merchandise under \$1000. in value	\$10.00 per yr.

On May 2, 1837, taxation began to be levied on the hundred dollars of value and by poll tax, a method which still continues in force.

In this connection, also, we may note the rate of ferriage laid down by the commissioners for the various ferries in this county. On May 11, 1818, William Cockerham was granted the right to establish a ferry across Dirftwood in section 16, town 5 north, range 4 east, and rates were laid down as follows:

Wagon and horses	\$.75
Man and horse .....	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Footman .....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$
Single horse .....	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cattle per head .....	.04
Cart and team .....	.37 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sheep and hogs .....	.02

These rates do not vary much from time to time but gradually become lower. The following rates established June 4, 1844, will show how far they were reduced by that time:

One horse or oxen, wagon, driver and load	\$.12½
Two horses or oxen, wagon, driver and load .....	.15
Three horses or oxen, wagon, driver and load .....	.20
Four horses or oxen, wagon, driver and load .....	.25
Five horses or oxen, wagon, driver and load .....	.30
Six horses or oxen, wagon, driver and load .....	.35
Man and horse .....	.10
Footman .....	.05
Each loose horse .....	.05
Each head of No. 1 cattle .....	.04
Each sheep or hog .....	.01

In addition to rates of taxation and rates for ferriage, tavern rates were laid down also. The first rates were fixed on May 11, 1818 as follows:

Breakfast and supper, each	\$.25
Dinner .....	.25
Lodging per night .....	.12½
Whiskey per pint .....	.12½
Rum, French brandy, and wine, per pint .....	.12½
Pasturage per night .....	.12½
Corn and oats, per gallon .....	.12½
Horse to hay, per night .....	.25

These rates varied from time to time. On May 13, 1819, dinner cost 37½ cts; rum, French brandy and wine 50 cts. per half pint; peach brandy, 18¾ cts; and whiskey and apple brandy 12½ cts. per half pint; corn and oats 12½ cts. per gallon; and horse in pasture for 24 hours, 12 cts.

The commissioners' records are of course, largely taken up with the establishment of roads over the country. In the account of the first two days' session of the judges' court is given the usual plan of petitioning and laying out roads. The Indiana Statutes are also full of references to the establishment of State roads and to the incorporation of toll road companies.³⁸ Mr. Burcham, in his "Reminiscences," says the first road was built according to law in 1815 or 1816 from the Muscatatuck river to Vallonia. The workmen were divided into four gangs and the road was divided into sections. Each gang was allotted its section, and the gang reaching Vallonia

³⁸Brownstown Banner, July 22, 1874.

first was to get all the whiskey they could drink. Needless to say, they were not long in reaching Vallonia. Whiskey was cheap then as it cost only 25 cts. per gallon.

One of the most frequently mentioned roads in the Indiana State Laws is the Indianapolis-Mauck's Ferry State road which passed through Jackson county by way of Millport, Vallonia, Brownstown, and Rockford. At the Seventh Session of the General Assembly Robert Weathers, Henry Boas, and Thomas Kindall of Jackson county were appointed to relocate part of this road.³⁹ They were to meet in Brownstown the first Monday in February next, or on some subsequent date, qualify, and employ a force to mark a road beginning at the south end of Main street in Brownstown, and then by way of Vallonia to where the State road leading from Mauck's Ferry to Indianapolis crosses the Muscatatuck, by the best possible route. Contractors Charles Crabb of Jackson county and Jesse Stanley of Washington county agreed to transfer their contracts to the new route. At the Ninth Session additional funds were granted contractor William Rodman who was forced to enlarge the bridge over the Muscatatuck.⁴⁰ In an act approved February 11, 1825, provision is made to pay Charles Crabb for cutting and clearing three fourths of a mile between the fifty-fifth mile post and Brownstown, such fraction having been created by a change in the road and not being included in the original contract. Laws for the relocation of parts of this road are found in the State laws of 1830, page 116, 1830-31 page 144 and 1848 page 270.

Mention has been made of the building of the bridge over the Muscatatuck in 1825. In 1832, a law passed authorizing the sale of the remaining material of the Muscatatuck bridge to the highest bidder, the proceeds to be applied to the improvement of the ford and river hill.⁴¹ The fact that the purchaser was, within sixty days, to remove all parts of the bridge that obstructed navigation, indicates that it must have been destroyed in some way.⁴² At the Eighteenth Session of the General Assembly was passed an act to incorporate a toll bridge over the Muscatatuck here.⁴³ Directors were named to act till a regular election could be held, and rates of toll were fixed. The bridge was to be completed in four years.

³⁹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1822-3, 31.

⁴⁰ *Laws of Indiana*, 1824-5, 51.

⁴¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1831-2, 26.

⁴² Article entitled "More Jackson County History," *Brownstown Banner*, September 2, 1912. This article states that the bridge fell in 1824.

⁴³ *Laws of Indiana*, 1833-4, 46.

Among the other State roads established running through the county were the McDonald's Ferry-Brownstown road,⁴⁴ the Columbus-Brownstown State road established February 1, 1834,⁴⁵ the Madison-Bloomington State road from Madison via Paris and Brownstown to Bloomington⁴⁶ and the Madison-Brownstown State road.⁴⁷

Among the toll road companies incorporated by State law were the Brownstown Turnpike Company⁴⁸ two Madison and Brownstown Turnpike Companies incorporated in 1848,⁴⁹ and the Brownstown-Charleston Plank Road Company, to run between the two places named via Mt. Sidney.⁵⁰ The organization of these companies was very similar and that of the Brownstown Turnpike Company will be given as illustrative. According to the act, Jonas Berkey, Jesse B. Durham, Samuel P. Mooney, Abel Finley, Sr., Obadiah M. Crane, and Hiram Kress of Jackson county together with four citizens of Washington county and six from Bartholomew county incorporated the Brownstown Turnpike Company. The capital stock was \$150,000 in shares of \$50.00 each, with the power to increase the capital stock. The corporation was to have power to carry on the work, keep records, make payments, and sell stock. The directors were to be elected as soon as two thousand shares were sold and three dollars paid on each share. Twenty-five per cent of the stock was to be demanded every six months on sixty days notice, and the stock was to be forfeited if demands were not met. The road was to run from Columbus by way of Rockford and Brownstown to Salem. The land was to be taken by sale or legal means and the road was to be laid on county or State roads with the commissioner's consent, to be started in three years and completed in ten years. It was to be not exceeding 100 feet wide with at least twenty feet of stone, gravel or sand and was to be kept in repair. Rates of toll were set varying from 18¾ cts. for one horse and each four-wheeled vehicle, and 6¼ cts. for each horse in addition, down to a half cent for hogs and sheep. People going to or coming from public worship, militia muster, or funeral were to travel free, but the rates applied to all conveyances carrying United States mail. Provisions were made for keeping it up, and for punishing offenders. The charter was to last fifty years.

⁴⁴ *Laws of Indiana*, 1821-2, 157.

⁴⁵ *Laws of Indiana*, 1833-4, 278.

⁴⁶ *Laws of Indiana*, 1833-4, 271.

⁴⁷ *Laws of Indiana*, 1831-2, 75.

⁴⁸ *Laws of Indiana*, 1836-6, 287.

⁴⁹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1847-8, 40 and 448.

⁵⁰ *Laws of Indiana*, 1850-1, approved February 8, 1851.

Lastly, is the account of the first circuit court, as distinguished from the court for transacting county business, which was held by David Rayman, presiding judge of the Jackson circuit and Joseph Kitchell and John Ketcham, his associates, at the home of William Crenshaw, in the town of Vallonia, at the April term, 1816.⁵¹ The first case recorded is that of Joseph Kitchell vs. James Hutchinson for slander. Hutchinson was put under \$4,000 bond, and the case was submitted to John Ketcham, Cyrus Douglas, John Reddicks and William Reddicks as arbitrators who gave judgment for \$150 and costs.

⁵¹ Clerk's Record, Book A, p. 1.

INDIANA HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS

BY OSCAR H. WILLIAMS, Critic Teacher, Bloomington.

Thanks to the energy and foresight of a small but enthusiastic group of workers in Indiana History, the documentary material for this field is fast becoming accessible to students and writers. For two years, the Indiana Historical Survey, under the direction of the State University, has diligently collected and catalogued files of early Indiana newspapers, together with pamphlets and other documents (some in manuscript form) bearing upon the history of the State. In similar fashion, the State Archives Commission, with headquarters in the Indiana State Library, has gathered from all parts of the State newspaper collections and other documentary material of inestimable value to the historian.

Fortunate, indeed, for the project of that comprehensive history of the State which is yet to be written, that these enterprises were put under way. For much of this material, from neglect and misuse, was speedily passing beyond the reach of human hands. Anyone who has delved into the uncatalogued records of a community's history knows how relentlessly they are destroyed by the ravages of time. As a people we of the State of Indiana, are notoriously prone to neglect the preservation of such records. Indeed, we have not hitherto learned to cherish our traditions or to place high store upon the past. Almost until the present generation, the Hoosier stock have been too deeply engrossed with their material tasks to have either the leisure or the inclination to dwell upon the achievements of previous generations of Indiana people. In the early days, the titanic labor involved in draining the swamps, transforming the forests into arable fields, constructing bridges and highways, quite absorbed the restless energies of our people. Later the work of building the gigantic forges and factories of industry has kept our minds in tense concentration upon present problems. But as we near the century mark, we are rapidly passing from a purely agricultural order to one that is largely industrial. Wealth is accumulating and with it have come that leisure and scholarly activity which are essential to a full appreciation of the record of achievement of former days.

And it is a record of which the native stock may well be proud. Admirers have long been accustomed to sing the praises of Indiana's line of literary workers. No less a source of pride and satisfaction

to the native Hoosier is the long and illustrious array of warriors, statesmen, jurists, artists, and builders in education, who have brought renown to the State since its foundation. The results attained from early days in programs of social regeneration, in constructive statesmanship, in educational experiment and pioneering, have been such as to induce older States to study and copy.

We are at last awakening to a sense of values in the study of the history of the State. Although but three generations removed from the original pioneer stock, we derive our knowledge of its characteristics almost wholly from family tradition. Anything like a connected and philosophical view of the development of the commonwealth, a survey such as will reveal the stages of an evolving social order, is wholly wanting. As for our children, their experiences, their instruction, and their daily tasks are remote from the struggles and contests of the early days of the fathers. Year in and year out, the youth of the State are diligently instructed in the history of the nation, and properly so, but they are left in almost total ignorance of the rich current of State history which is sweeping past them. All the phases of social and industrial transformation, of political and religious change, which appear in the nation's history, may in the history of the State be seen in nearer perspective, in clearer outline, and with more vivid reality. Indiana, as the nation, has passed through the principal stages of social and industrial development. Here are seen the successive frontiers of the Indian trader, the ranchman, the farmer, and at last the manufacturer comes to add the capstone of material comfort. On the political side, Indiana has had her colonial period; her epoch of constitution-making; her time of internal growth, wherein questions of public improvements, of banking, public lands, and Indian affairs, were uppermost; she has had her struggle for and against slavery; her part in the Civil War was most noteworthy. In stately pageantry, all the great movements of the nation's life pass across the page of the State's history.

To bring youthful minds into lasting touch with the historical drama of the past of their State, there has wisely been planned a systematic course in Indiana History for the schools. This has been incorporated in the State course of study, not as a new and separate study, but one to be closely linked with American History. The course is designed to continue through the grades and the high school.

For the teacher the problem is one of supply. "Where can I find material for teaching Indiana History?" is the query which in-

voluntarily arises. A well-constructed textbooks in State history, adapted to children of the grammar grades, is lacking. An authentic and scientific history of Indiana, covering the period of statehood, is yet to be written. Two or three books of children's stories, such as the charmingly written *Stories of Indiana*, by Maurice Thompson, and the literary product of Mrs. Levering, entitled *Historic Indiana*, constitute the sum total of available material for teaching purposes. It was with a view of placing in the hands of teachers and pupils a book of readable and first hand selections which may serve to bring out strongly the salient facts in the history of the State, that a committee recently chosen by the State History Teachers' Section, has undertaken to compile such a book.

The title of the book, which bears the imprint of Indiana University, is *Readings in Indiana History*. Four well-marked periods of State history appear in the grouping of the selections. First comes the period, extending from 1765 to 1816, in which Indiana was still an Indian country. The readings here chosen bring out the facts of Indian occupation, of French trading posts, of the conquest for Virginia by Captain Clark, of the increased tension in the relations of Indians and white settlers, and of the final outburst of war which culminated in the destruction of the Indian power. Next, the period from 1816 to about 1836 is called "Pioneer Indiana." In it the selections are such as to bring out the aspects of pioneer life and the conquest of the wilderness. Then a third period, covering the years from 1836 to 1844, is shown to be one of internal growth. Questions of internal improvement, of banking, and of political organization hold sway and are illustrated by a series of carefully selected readings. Finally the fourth period, from about 1844 to the years following the Civil War is known as "Overshadowing National Questions." Here the readings show the slavery struggle in the State, its part in the great Civil War, and the treatment of the negro in Indiana before and after freedom was attained.

Something near one hundred and fifty selections, extracts from letters, journals, narratives, newspaper accounts, written by participants and eye-witnesses, compose the matter of the book. The selections were chosen primarily for their inherent interest for children as well as for their type characteristics. The style is in every case attractive and vigorous. The language of the selections is that rare combination of literary English and practical colloquialism for which the Hoosier is justly famed. The selections are grouped and woven into a connected whole by means of introductory notes and comments written by the editorial committee. A well-

written historical introduction to the book, and other introductions to the periods, serve well to give the historic setting and background. A detailed outline for lesson assignments aids in making the book serviceable.

Innumerable ways to use the book will suggest themselves to the skillful teacher. Here is fresh material for daily reading and for composition lessons. The travel and hunting tales, new and interesting, full of local life and color, suggest a practicable basis for oral composition. And the geography lesson, in so far as it may touch upon the State, finds abundant illustrative matter in the accounts of early travellers. But it is as a source for the history lesson that we are chiefly concerned. Occasionally the selections, such as those bearing upon the slavery controversy, will furnish valuable sidelights upon the lessons in American History. However, in the grammar grades, a definite period, on designated days, should be allotted to the study of Indiana history. Time may be found for this work by giving relatively less emphasis to certain less valuable portions of American History. The problems which confronted the early settlers in Indiana, the surmounting of physical obstacles in the conquest of the forest, the dangers encountered in dealing with a savage foe, all furnish stimulating exercises for the constructive abilities of children. Let the boys and girls settle the question, in given situations, of how and why a certain course should be pursued. Have them discover the advantages of canals over turnpikes and of railroads over canals. Let the children find out why the people in certain parts of the State were strongly pro-slavery and why those in other parts were equally opposed to slavery.

In Indiana history we have a subject close to the interests of children. They will enter with enthusiasm into the stories of settlement and of Indian captures. Often they will enrich the material at hand by bringing in their own family traditions of similar adventures. The subjects should always be made concrete and tangible. Encourage the making of models by the children. Most boys can readily be interested in the work of constructing a Conestoga wagon or a "river ark." For small children, pictures and sketches are essential. Crude drawings often serve the purpose of elaborating the construction of an Indian canoe or a settler's cabin. A map should often be made to show a wilderness trail, the State system of canals, the first railway, or the three Indiana capitals. A story should never be left until its exact locality is fixed and described. In this way the boys and girls will come to know their State quite as intimately as they know their local community.

It is believed that a substantial contribution to the better understanding of the State's history and her part in the national development has been made by the preparation of this book. A somewhat pretentious volume it is, of about 500 pages of matter. But through the generosity of the State University, in keeping with its ideal of public service, the book has been placed upon the market at a nominal price, intended merely to cover the cost of publication. The book may be ordered direct from the University Bookstore.

HOME LIFE IN EARLY INDIANA*

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CHAPTER III. SICKNESS AND PHYSICIANS

PREVALENCE OF SICKNESS

In novels and stories the western pioneer is pictured as a big rough, hardy man with unbounded energy and intoxicating health. This picture is largely a romantic one. The woods of Indiana were not settled without much sickness, many deaths, and great suffering. The pioneers had to contend against invisible, as well as visible foes, and, of the two, the former were the most deadly. No part of America, outside of the tropics, was more subject to malarial visitation than the rich flat lands in Indiana. The very fertility of the soil made it miasmatic. Vast, dense forests, in whose shade immense accumulation of leaves, fallen timber, and other vegetable matter lay rotting from year to year, and the innumerable streams and ponds of stagnant water, exhaled poisonous gases which contributed toward disease. Exposure to the weather, also, was another factor that made for sickness. For many years in the autumn season there were more sick people than well ones. Occasionally whole towns were depopulated. In the southern border counties during the years 1820-1822 sickness was especially prevalent. So alarming was the mortality that the General Assembly of the State set apart a day for public prayer and supplication to the Almighty God, that he might bless the country with fruitful seasons and bring health and peace to the unhappy citizens. In 1821 an epidemic of fevers broke out and continued from July to October during which time nearly every person was sick in some degree, and about one eighth of the population died. One third of the people of Vincennes at one time were confined to their beds with sickness. The whole Wabash country was especially afflicted, and the southern counties were never free from fevers.

HARD LOT OF THE SICK

Medical aid was hard to secure. In the beginning there were few doctors, and the settlers lived so far apart that it was almost impossible for a physician to get around in times of heavy sickness. More

* The first two chapters of this paper were published in the preceding issue of this MAGAZINE.—ED.

than one mother has vainly watched over her child through the night, hoping for a visit from the doctor who never came, or, if he did finally come, arrived too late to be of any use. Several deaths occurred at Jeffersonville in the early years which were due to a lack of medical assistance. On the whole the distress of the families during epidemics of fever was pitiable. Often there were not enough well people to care for the sick. Provisions gave out and it was difficult for the sick people to obtain food. A poor settler of Hamilton county describes conditions thus: In September sickness set in in earnest; nearly everyone would be down at the same time, not one to help the other when the ague was on. Our provisions gave out and it was sixty or seventy miles to the settlement. Conner had a little corn which he sold at a dollar a bushel. This they had to pound in a mortar, sift out the finest of it for bread, and boil the coarser of it and eat it with milk. They called it samp. O how tired I got of such fare: but no help for it. They would pound the corn after the ague went off and the fever subsided a little.¹

AGUE AND FEVER

One of the greatest obstacles to the early settlement of Indiana was chills and fever. The story of suffering from ague forms a pathetic part of the history of pioneer life. To newcomers, it was a veritable terror, and, in the fall, everybody looked pale and sallow, the disease being no respecter of persons. It developed, as we have stated, from the impurities of stagnant pools and streams. From the first of August to the first of October in each year no serious labor was undertaken. Sickness reigned supreme. At any gathering half the members wore yellow faces, and moved about with heavy lassitude. The sickness began with a chill of rather indefinite duration, followed by a burning fever, which lasted for hours. Sometimes the attack came every day, but generally on alternate days. Frequently the paroxysms of shaking were so violent that the bed upon which the sick person lay would creak and rattle. But the exigencies of pioneer life would not permit the ague-stricken man or woman to give up work altogether. Sometimes a plowman trudged after his plow with a burning fever, while his poor wife, equally afflicted, drugged at the household work, or ministered to her sickly children. The following story illustrates the effect of the ague: A man was passing through a forest hunting for a stray cow and calf when he came upon a neighbor sitting on a log with a rifle across his knees. "Hello, what are you doing there, John?" he

¹ *Indiana Magazine of History*, VI., 77-78.

called out. John looked up dolefully, his teeth rattling together and his whole frame quivering. "I'm waiting for my ague to go off, so I can hold my gun steady enough to shoot that squirrel up there," he replied, pointing with a shaking finger at the little animal crouching amid the top-most twigs of a tall oak. The cow-hunter kindly took the gun and shot the squirrel for his neighbor.²

DOCTORS AND METHODS OF TREATMENT

With so much sickness the life of the old-time doctor was not an easy one. Poorly trained and poorly equipped, it is wonderful that they accomplished anything. No course of preparation was necessary, and no license was required before they began to practice. Some of them were men of little character, and could be classified only as quacks. Most practitioners received a little training in the office of another physician; some relied on natural wit and experience alone, and hung out a flaming clapboard sign at the first opportunity. Quinine, calomel, tartar-emetic, castor oil, salts, and jalap were standard remedies, and a large lancet for bleeding was found in every medical case. With his saddle-bags full of these, and a good hardy horse, the pioneer physician counted himself the equal of the mightiest disease. Whiskey was a universal remedy for malaria and did not need a doctor's prescription. It was considered the best possible remedy for the bite of a poisonous snake. A person, when bitten, was made to drink as quickly as possible large amounts of the fiery intoxicant. Our early grandmothers were experts at gathering herbs, from which teas and bitters were concocted. Not a few of these simple home made remedies possessed curative virtues, too.

Fever and chills brought the largest number of patients to the doctors. When this disease was deepset the experienced ones knew that it was necessary to secure a reaction. When the doctor came he labored to bring this about. Stimulants, such as brandy, capsi-cum, and quinine, were given in large doses, and heavy applications of mustard were made. There are instances where, within a period of fourteen hours, one hundred grains of quinine and a quart of brandy were administered before a reaction could be brought about. In other cases they bled the unfortunate patient and then dosed him with large amounts of calomel. This method killed quickly and cured slowly. But, after all, the doctors are not to be despised for they did the best they knew, and their patients frequently got well in spite of them. Doctors traveled long distances, watched

² Thompson, *Stories of Indiana*, 177.

many long nights at the bedside of the sick, and suffered much real hardship. Not infrequently they themselves succumbed to prevalent diseases. At one time, in the town of Franklin, only two out of the five physicians were able to answer calls. Their services were so much needed that they rode from place to place on a gallop. Often they traveled not less than fifty miles a day.

It was a time of quackery and quack medicines. Often in the sickly season all the quinine in the shops was consumed. Then the settlers had no remedy except boneset and gentian. The sick were ready to try anything that promised relief, and pills with big high-sounding names, and guaranteed to cure a whole category of diseases, found a ready sale. Empty medicine bottles could be seen hanging from the walls of almost every cabin. There were quack doctors too. A certain Dr. Burr came to Connersville from Ohio and advertised himself as a "Root-Doctor." He nailed up to the weatherboarding of his hotel an enormous swamp lily root, almost as large as a man, with head, eyes, ears, and nose nicely carved. Arms and legs were attached, and above it appeared the glaring sign, "Joseph S. Burr, Root Doctor: No Calomel." People came from all parts of the country to see the doctor and the big root, and he quickly established a lucrative practice. He granted diplomas to students upon the completion of a three week's course of study. As a result the county was soon filled with root doctors. One of his graduates was a constable who was barely able to write his name. With his quack diploma he went to the "New Purchase" and put out his shingle. Upon being asked one day how his patients were, he replied, "Only tolerable; I lost nine fine patients last week, one of them an old lady that I wanted to cure badly, but she died in spite of all I could do. I tried every root I could find, but still she grew worse, and there being nobody here to detect my practice, like the other regular doctors. I concluded to try calamus, and dug up a root about nine inches long and made tea out of it. She drank it with some difficulty, turned over in bed and died. Still I don't think it was the calamus that killed her, as all the calamus doctors are giving it in heavier doses than I did."³ Such was his ignorance that he did not know the difference between calomel and calamus, and yet he got patients. Another kind of quack was the "steam doctor."⁴ He was not a man of much learning, and often not reasonably intelligent. His pills were made of walnut bark, and he carried around with him a rude apparatus for steaming his ague stricken patients.

³ Smith, *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 12-13.

⁴ Thompson, *Stories of Indiana*, 100.

MILK-SICKNESS AND CHOLERA

One of the worst diseases with which the settlers had to contend was the milk-sickness. It was peculiar to the new country, and to this day remains very largely a mystery. Both people and cattle were subject to it. Whole families were prostrated from using the milk of a single cow. Death usually came within ten days after the attack began, or the victim gradually convalesced. Although doctors disagree as to its cause, there can be no denial of its prevalence in early times. With the increased cultivation of the fields and the substitution of cultivated grains and pasturage for the wild herbage upon which cattle fed for a large part of the year, it gradually disappeared. It destroyed the value of lands in neighborhoods that were known to be afflicted with it. Indeed some of the finest tracts of land in Indiana were unoccupied on account of springs which were said to cause milk-sickness.

The State suffered to some extent also from the Asiatic cholera.⁵ In 1833 it first appeared on the Wabash, especially on boats that passed up and down the river. During the summers of 1849 and 1854 it swept over the country. Almost every town and village along the Wabash suffered from the attack. During this period Lafayette lost over six hundred of her citizens, chiefly adults.

SPELLS AND CHARMS

In connection with various diseases, the early settlers practiced many spells and charms.⁶ They sold their warts, and they carried buckeyes or potatoes in their pockets to keep off the rheumatism. If a teamster cut himself, he smeared the axe or knife with tar from the spindle of the wagon. Asafoetida, catnip, southernwood, chamomile, and certain other herbs were supposed to ward off disease if worn about the person. To cure epilepsy, they split the body of a standing shellbark hickory, wedged it far apart and passed the body of the patient three times through the opening, after which performance, the wedges were knocked out. If the parts grew together, a cure was assured. To a large extent those old superstitions survive today among the negroes, and backward whites of the southern mountain regions.

CHAPTER IV. CHURCHES AND PREACHERS

Our forefathers were serious men. They possessed a firm religious faith that enabled them to face the dangers and privations of the frontier with courage and fortitude. As soon as they had built

⁵ Cox, *Early Settlement of the Wabash Valley*, 153.

⁶ *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 188.

their rude cabins they gathered for simple service and praise. And, within a very short while, they built rough log houses for worship and called ministers of the gospel.

EARLY CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES

In 1769 La Salle came to explore the great west. From his alleged voyage down the Wabash and his exploration in the northern part of the State he may, in truth, be called the discoverer of Indiana. The routes which he marked out were followed by succeeding voyagers, traders and hunters. With these men, sometimes preceding them, came the Catholic missionaries to spread the Christian gospel to the benighted redmen. With a crucifix as their weapon, the Jesuit fathers penetrated the forests, bringing some degree of civilization and religion to the savages, and preserving the spark of religion in the hearts of their countrymen. With the advent of permanent occupation, and the establishment of military posts, the priests played a prominent role. In the midst of each settlement stood the little log chapel with its rude cross pointing heavenward, the only reminder of civilization in the great wild forests.

These early missionaries did a great work. Out of pure zeal for the faith they left comfort and ease in the old world to labor among heathens in the new, where they suffered hardships of every descriptions and often met death itself. A beautiful legend has grown up about the work of the early priests, but at heart of it all there was a heroism, courage, and faith such as is seldom displayed in the history of Christian missions. Their work among the Indians will always be remembered. Gently and kindly they led these simple people to some degree of knowledge of the true God. It was the policy of the French, for the purpose of trade, to encourage the natives to settle around the military posts. Here they came under the influence of the church. They learned a little agriculture and other simple arts; they were led to give up barbarous customs and habits; and they were taught to dress and to live in some degree like a white man. This task was hard enough indeed but it was rendered all the more difficult by the French traders who debauched the artless Indian with fiery liquors for the sake of paltry profits.

EARLY PROTESTANT PREACHERS

The Anglo-Saxon soon followed the Frenchman, and the Protestant ministers were not far behind the Catholic missionary.

In their cabins, or, in the summer, under the great forest trees, the early settlers gathered for worship, clad in their buckskin or

coarse homespun clothes. At first there were no resident pastors, but itinerant preachers came long distances on horseback to minister to the scattered settlements.⁷ These traveling preachers represented all denominations, and visited in rotation within their individual circuits every settlement and village. In an early community the "appointment" for preaching was regarded as a gala day. It is needless to say that all the pews were full. It was not necessary to advertise for a congregation as some churches are compelled to do today. The Methodists were especially active. Their system carried their churches into nearly every settlement, and wherever two or three were gathered together, there one would find a Methodist preacher or exhorter in their midst.

The early itinerant preacher was an earnest man. His faith and zeal was no less extraordinary than that of the Catholic fathers, and the hardships and dangers he suffered were no less extraordinary. He went armed, prepared to defend himself against man and beast. As vehicles of any kind were out of order, he traveled on horseback. On his saddle he had a pair of saddle bags, in one side of which was his clothing, in the other his food. Crosswise on the pommel he bore his long rifle, while strapped to the rear of the saddle was a comfortable blanket. Often when night overtook him, he wrapped himself in this blanket and slept on the bare ground, his trusty horse grazing nearby till morning. At his side hung a coonskin pouch containing ammunition, a good supply of punk, flints, and a piece of steel with which to strike a fire. Thus equipped, he rode from settlement to settlement, visiting the lowly cabins to which he brought the gospel and good cheer. It is said that Reverent Francis Asbury in his ministry rode a distance that would have taken him twelve times around the world. The following quotation gives us a picture of an early itinerant: Lest you might think there was danger of us becoming semi-barbarous in this wild region, I will here state that we have circuit preaching every four weeks, by old father Emmett, a veteran minister of the Methodist denomination, who has been a faithful watchman on the walls of Zion for more than forty years. He is beloved by all who know him—old and young, saint and sinner. His preaching is of the plain, practical, but effective kind that reaches the hearts of his hearers. He has three preaching places within reach of us, viz: at John Simpson's, Kepner's Schoolhouse above the forks of Coal creek, and in White's neighborhood in the direction of Covington.⁸

⁷ Smith, *Early Indiana Trials and Sketches*, 97; also Thompson, *Stories of Indiana*, 85-86.

⁸ Cox, *Early Settlement of the Wabash Valley*, 50.

The trials and privations of the early pioneer preachers were almost beyond belief. Most of them cleared their own farms and raised crops for the support of their families. Along with this they ministered to the scattered congregations. In early pioneer times a man who did not labor with his hands was held in scorn. While they were off on a long itinerary, their families were left alone to face dangers from sickness, wild beasts, and savages.

Sermons were long and tedious, discourses two or three hours long being the rule.⁹ Written sermons were not tolerated on the frontier. The minister must speak extemporaneously and show his fire and zeal chiefly on doctrinal and controversial points. These earnest men often preached until they were exhausted and fell back into the arms of a brother. Frequently religious debates were held where such questions as elections vs free grace, immersion vs sprinkling, and many others were hotly disputed. The Bible was interpreted liberally, and the people were very emotional.

In many neighborhoods the settlers were not able to build a church for each denomination, so union churches were built, in which the various sects held service on alternate Sundays. In such communities services were held invariably once a month. The minister always had a large congregation. The pioneers longed naturally for companionship and turned out in large numbers. It was a fine sight to see people flocking into the meeting house from every direction for eight or ten miles around. Some families came in ox carts, some came in wagons drawn by horse, and others on foot. Young ladies frequently walked a mile or two to church carrying their shoes and stockings in their hands until within a hundred yards of the place of worship.¹⁰ There were no musical instruments, and usually there was no choir, the singing being entirely congregational. More than one church was divided later by the introduction of an organ. As there were few hymn books, the preacher "lined off" the hymn which all sang with loud enthusiasm.¹¹ The sexes were seated on opposite sides of the house. Services began by reading a chapter from the Bible, followed by a prayer. The hymn was then "lined off" by the minister, and a person, somewhat acquainted with music led the singing, in which all the congregation joined. In later days the parts, bass and treble, were carried in the song, for by that time the singing school had become an established institution and the singing master was a well-known character. Then came

⁹ Levering, *Historic Indiana*, 172.

¹⁰ *History of Johnson County*, 261.

¹¹ Levering, *Historic Indiana*, 174.

the reading of the text and the discourse which lasted an hour and sometimes longer. During the whole service there was utmost decorum.¹² There was no chatting aloud or in an undertone, and whispering was considered such a breach of church manners that it seldom occurred. The audience listened to the service with special interest. The services were characterized by extreme simplicity. There were no flowers on the preacher's stand, none on his person, and they were seldom worn by any of the congregation. This was not due to any lack of respect or regard, but rather to an excessive reverence for the sacredness of the time and place. At the close of the sermon another hymn was sung, followed by a brief prayer or benediction. As soon as the meeting was over the people crowded around the minister to exchange greetings. They talked of the discourse continually on their way home. In fact the sermon became the theme of conversation in the neighborhood for many days.

The minister's salary was very low. For sixteen years the average salary of a typical Presbyterian preacher was only eighty dollars, including money and gifts.¹³ To support his family he farmed on a small scale, taught singing classes, wrote deeds, wills, and advertisements, taught school, and then mended his neighbor's shoes. Most preachers relied largely on their own little farms, and preached out of pure love of the work. With all his limitations the pioneer preacher had a remarkable influence. Being in many cases a man of decided learning, for that day, he was the "most considerable" man in the community, and was sure of a warm welcome and a good chicken dinner. To him the people appealed as arbiter of their disputes; to him the conscience-stricken went for relief and guidance. To a much greater degree, than at present, ministers then shaped the destiny of the State.

FAMILY WORSHIP

Family worship was the rule in early times.¹⁴ Once or twice a day, in the morning before breakfast, or in the evening before bedtime, the father gathered his family around him, read a chapter in the Bible and announced a hymn, in the singing of which all joined. Then he closed the simple service with a fervent prayer. When a pious guest was present he was asked to lead in the exercises. The prayers especially were very wild and fervent. Indeed a man who did not pray in this manner at home, and in public, was consid-

¹² Turpie, *Sketches of My Own Times*, 11.

¹³ *Indiana Magazine of History*, V., 59.

¹⁴ *History of Johnson County*, 252.

cred defective in piety. When there was no church in the neighborhood, the monthly services were held at a settler's home. A double log cabin, inhabited by one of the more prosperous members of the community was usually selected. The congregation assembled at the appointed time. The preacher, before whom was placed a small stand on which lay his Bible and prayer book, took a place in the middle of the entry. The women sat in the rooms on the one side of this entry, the windows and doors being open, and the men in the same way on the other side. The children sat together just in front of the minister, but one or two older persons sat with them as monitors. In simple improvised chapels of this kind, sermons have been preached and prayers prayed that have lingered in the memory of the congregation for a lifetime. In those days, religious subjects predominated in ordinary social intercourse. With the pioneer, religion was a real, vital thing to be applied to the daily walks of life to govern the conduct of men. They gave a literal interpretation to the commandments. Sunday was strictly observed. No work, except the most necessary, no hunting, sport, or play took place in the more Puritanic neighborhoods. Occasionally wheat or hay was harvested on the Sabbath, but only when the crop was in peril. When the last day of the year fell upon Sunday, it was called "Long Sunday" and worship and prayer lasted until midnight.

CHURCH BUILDINGS

Church architecture was as simple as the worship. Most of the meeting-houses were constructed of logs with a heavy clapboard roof. No belfry was built, as a bell would have been out of the question. In later days frame churches with belfry and bell were built. There were also stone and brick structures. An early church, built in 1812, near Brookville, is described thus: It is built of hard bricks of large size. It has a commodious gallery, supported by massive hewn pillars; and in the center of the church was a stone hearth upon which charcoal was burned in cold weather—for stoves were not common in the west in that early day.¹⁵

THE CAMP MEETING

The deep longing of the pioneers for social intercourse is reflected in their religious gatherings. The various conferences, associations, synodical meetings, were largely social in nature.¹⁶ The

¹⁵ *Indiana Magazine of History*, VI., 82.

¹⁶ *Thwaites' Early Western Travels*, IX., 257-264; Turple, *Sketches of My Own Times*, 104-107; Hall *The New Purchase*, II, 120 ff.

camp meeting was especially characterized by its social features. In summer, after the harvest season, families of the same faith gathered from far and near, traveling on horseback or in covered wagons, sometimes from a distance of forty or fifty miles. The camp-ground was usually located near a creek or river in the shade of a deep woods. The people lived in rough cabins or tents. Some lodged and slept in their wagons. The horses and wagons were arranged roughly in the shape of a horseshoe, at the open end of which stood the preacher's stand. Before this, was the mourner's bench, which was surrounded by a vacant enclosure about thirty feet square. The space beyond this, to the line of the wagons, was filled with seats made of logs and rough planks. Sometimes a rail fence separated the male from the female portion of the congregation. At night the camp was lighted by lanterns or by blazing logs. In a letter, Flint describes the scene thus: "Large fires of timber were kindled, which cast a new luster on every object. The white tents gleamed in the glare. Over them the dusky woods formed a most romantic gloom, only the tall trunks of the front rank were distinctly visible, and these seemed so many members of a lofty colonnade."¹⁷

The leading event of the day was the sermon at eleven o'clock, a more or less formal discourse. In the afternoon a less formal service was held, and in the evening a short discourse was preached followed by prayers and exhortation. The mourners or "seekers" gathered around the preacher's stand in the vacant enclosure. The stillness of the night and the powerful, vivid, exhortations to prayer and repentance produced memorable sensations. Great numbers "fell under the power of the word," becoming unconscious, and remaining in that condition for hours. To prevent others from treading on them they were collected in one place and laid out in order, where they were cared for and prayed over by anxious friends. Sometimes as many as three thousand fell into these ecstatic trances at one meeting. There was much handshaking and giving of testimony. At large meetings the number of worshippers was so great that it became necessary to divide them into groups, to each of which an exhorter was assigned. Prayers, exhortations, hymns, and the cries of the penitent arose from all parts of the ground. Flint gives the following picture: "About dusk I retired several hundred yards into the woods to enjoy the distant effect of the meeting. Female voices were mournfully predominant, and my imagination figured

¹⁷ Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, IX, 261.

to me a multitude of mothers, widows, and sisters giving vent to their grief, in bewailing the loss of a male population by war, shipwreck, or some great catastrophe.¹⁸

Sinners led a hard life of it. Sometimes they were even forcibly converted. In a camp meeting in 1820 a woman who had just been converted, was dragged away from the altar by her unregenerate husband, who threatened vengeance on anyone who would interfere. The minister took the man in hand, but seeing that persuasion and arguments were of no avail, he seized the fellow, forced him to his knees, and then flat on his face. Seating himself on the back of the victim, the minister refused to let him up until the man would pray. The only response was a chorus of oaths. But the wife and others prayed fervently, and finally the minister joined in. As he prayed he felt the man's muscles relax. Soon the poor fellow began to weep and cry out, "God be merciful to me a sinner!" and at last the shout of victory came.¹⁹

These meetings, which always lasted a week or more, usually closed at midnight. The woods rang with old familiar hymns, and when the echoes resounded among the distant trees one almost thought he was listening to a choir invisible. In the morning the wagons were packed again, goodbyes said, and the worshippers slowly departed for their homes.

DENOMINATIONS

Methodists and Baptists are predominantly identified with the early religious life. Their ministers were largely of the itinerant class. The Disciples of Christ founded by Alexander Campbell gained a strong foothold at a later period. Quakers were especially numerous in the southeastern part of the State. Through the large number of teachers which this sect furnished, its influence has been widely extended. The Presbyterians, from the first, maintained an educated ministry and located their churches in the towns instead of in the country. With a large number of educated members they had little sensationalism in their services and held to a rigorous theology. They founded numerous schools, some of which still exist and whose influence was very potent in shaping the destinies of the new State.

¹⁸ Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, IX, 261.

¹⁹ *Indiana Magazine of History*, V, 64-65.

CHAPTER V. TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS

EDUCATION UNDER THE FRENCH

The early French settlers cared little for education. The only instruction they received was given by the missionary priests who labored diligently to prevent the happy-go-lucky soldiers, traders, and trappers, who were naturally indolent and careless, from forgetting the principles of their religion. In later years, resident priests attempted to teach the children to read and write, but the frontier Frenchman was as much averse to mental effort as to physical toil. They had no education as we understand the term. All that they knew was handed down from father to son. What was perhaps the first regular school in Indiana was established at Vincennes in 1793 by a priest named Bivet. So there was no school in the territory until it came into American possession.

INTEREST OF INDIANA IN EDUCATION

Americans have always believed in education. The Ordinance of 1787 made provision for the training of future citizens in the Northwest, and, from the very first organization of Indiana, the people have had a deep interest in the education of the coming generations. In one form or another the educational question has been before every General Assembly from territorial days to the present time. Succeeding Assemblies have been asked to aid in the establishment of schools, or to grant special privileges for the building of academies and seminaries in the various parts of the State. The General Assembly of 1821 appointed a committee for the purpose of drafting a bill providing for a general system of education. The conception of education as a public duty is evidenced by the fact that the committee was instructed to guard well against any distinction between rich and poor. The report of the committee was incorporated in the first general school law of Indiana.

HOME SCHOOLS

Schools between 1805 and 1815 were very primitive. The country was sparsely settled; in fact half a dozen pioneers, located two or three miles apart, at that time, formed a large settlement. Consequently the children were taught the rudiments of learning at home.²⁰ There was usually someone in the family capable of teach-

²⁰ Turple, *Sketches of My Own Times*, 20.

ing the children reading, writing and the simple elements of arithmetic. Even in later times, on account of the great distance from the schoolhouse and danger from wild animals, children were frequently taught at home. This home instruction was not altogether inefficient. Twice a week in the afternoon the mother, usually, gathered the children around her and taught them to read, write, and cipher as far as division. They worked with goosequill pens and ink made from walnut hulls. Those who were old enough, read in turn from some book taken from the family collection. On Sunday they read in the same manner from the Bible, the stories of which were simply explained by the mother. Sometimes children from a neighbor's home would join the family Bible class.

In these times of danger it was also the custom to employ an instructor to go from house to house in the settlement. This circulating teacher spent one-third of a day with each family giving instructions in the rudiments of education; in this way with six families he could give three lessons a week to all the children. When it became less dangerous for the children to pass through the forest, they assembled at the home of the family most centrally located, where they were taught in a lean-to built at the side or end of the cabin. A mother or elder sister gave a little simple training, in reading, writing, and ciphering.

A PIONEER SCHOOLHOUSE

As soon as conditions were favorable the pioneers of the neighborhood constructed a rude cabin schoolhouse, a structure, which at this date, would be a curiosity indeed.²¹ There was no school revenue to be distributed, so each voter himself had to play the part of the builder. The neighbors divided themselves into choppers, hewers, carpenters, and masons. Those who found it impossible to report for duty might pay an equivalent in nails, boards, or other materials. The man who neither worked nor paid was fined thirty-seven and one-half cents a day. A site most convenient to all the settlers was selected, near a living spring if possible. Old settlers still joyfully remember the cool sparkling waters and the long-handled gourd. Logs were cut and hauled to the site and a rough rectangular pen, usually sixteen feet wide by eighteen feet long, was erected. A roof made of four-foot boards, held in place by weight poles, tied with strong hickory withes to the ridge poles, covered the structure. The only openings were a door and window about two-

²¹ Cox, *Early Settlement of the Wabash Valley*, 61; *History of Johnson County*, 265-266; *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 46-48; IV, 198; Thompson, *Stories of Indiana*, 232-233.

thirds of the length of a log, cut in one end of the building. Greased paper pasted upon slats covered the opening, which gave light to the room. If the school lasted into the fall and winter months, the openings between the logs were chinked and daubed with clay mortar. In the other end of the room a large fireplace was constructed. In later days, however, stoves were used. The room was filled with dirt, to a depth equal to half the thickness of the first side logs. After being well packed, the surface was covered with a thick clay mortar, which was evenly smoothed down to make an acceptable floor. Other school buildings had puncheon floors.

Under the one window a thinly hewed puncheon, resting on wooden pins driven into the log below, served as a writing desk. Seats were constructed of rough slabs which were hewn to remove the splinters. When this was imperfectly done, the bad workmanship was unmistakably reflected on the seats of the boy's pantaloons. Sanford Cox briefly describes a pioneer schoolhouse: "The schoolhouse was generally a log cabin with a puncheon floor, stick-and-clay-chimney, and a part of two logs chopped away on each side of the house for windows, over which greased newspaper or foolscap was pasted to admit the light and keep out the cold. The house was generally furnished with one split-bottom chair for the teacher, and rude benches made out of slabs for the pupils to sit on, so arranged as to get the benefit of the huge log fire in the winter time, and the light from the windows. To these add a broom, water bucket, and tincups or gourd, and the furniture list will be complete."²² While the early schoolhouses were usually rectangular in shape, this was not always true. A five-cornered building was erected in Hancock county in 1830, and there is evidence of two built in Orange county.

Not all early schoolhouses measured up to the description just given. In parts of the State it is said schoolhouses were constructed with portholes for shooting at the Indians. Schoolmasters may have even gone armed to their work. The first school in Martinsville was a summer school held on a pioneer's porch. In temperate weather barns were frequently used. Indeed, the first school in Newburg, Warrick county, was held in John Sprinkle's barn. John Wilson, a Baptist minister, taught the first school in Vevay in a horse mill. In Waynesville, Bartholomew county, a blacksmith shop served as a schoolhouse. After the close of the Indian wars old forts in various counties were converted into schoolhouses. In some towns the log courthouses were used between terms, and in

²² Cox, *Early Settlement of the Wabash Valley*, 61.

Dubois county, Simon Morgan, the county recorder, kept school for many years in the recorder's office. One man in Delaware county even used his own kitchen as a class room. Abandoned cabins frequently served for school purposes, and it is said that Hanover college originated in a private cabin. In Jackson county, a pole cabin with no window, floor, or chimney was used for educational purposes. The fire was built on a raised clay platform in the middle, the smoke escaping through an opening in the roof. This same opening furnished light for study. Another school in the same county had no windows at all, light entering through the open door and the throat of the large chimney. So far as light is concerned, greased paper marks a later stage of window construction.

EARLY TEACHERS

In many cases the pioneer teachers were men of families and had been educated in eastern schools. Being instructors of real merit, they left a lasting impression upon the communities in which they labored. Another class, hailing also from the east, or from England, Scotland, or Ireland, were adventurers, who sought temporary employment in the winter, while awaiting an opening for business.²³ The Southern States and Pennsylvania also furnished their quota of pedagogues. The chief drawback of the pioneer school was the want of competent teachers. In his message to the State General Assembly in 1833, Governor Noble said: "The want of competent teachers to instruct in the township school is a cause of complaint in many sections of the State, and it is to be regretted that in employing transient persons from other States, containing but little qualification, or moral character, the profession is not held in that repute it should be." In the early times there was a certain lack of respect for the vocation of teaching, due to the fact that the teacher did not work with his hands. Lawyers, ministers, and even doctors suffered in this respect. Frequently they volunteered to show their mettle by acts of manual labor in order to receive favor at the hands of the people.

According to the law of 1824, every school district had three trustees, who were empowered to examine teachers in reading, writing, and arithmetic. This feature of local certification was continued up to the adoption of the new constitution in 1852. Scarcely one in a hundred was fit to conduct a school, some of them could neither read nor write, and yet they examined the candidates for

²³ *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 83-85.

the profession. As a result of the illiteracy of the examiners, the candidate's handwriting, which could be seen by the uneducated and judged without comment, came to be the chief accomplishment. A man who could write a full, round, smooth hand was considered fully qualified to instruct in the district schools. Ex-Senator Turpie gives the following interesting account of his experience in securing a certificate: "I applied to the trustees of the district for a license to teach. Under the statute then in force, there was a board of trustees who had charge of the educational affairs, within their jurisdiction, and the chairman of the board, upon application, called a meeting of the members and appointed a day for the examination. When we met, the trustees asked me questions for an hour. These were answered promptly and plainly; they were well pleased with the answers and at last asked me for a specimen of my handwriting. Taking a sheet of paper I wrote one of the oldest legends in the copy-books of that time, 'At Dover dwell George Brown, esquire, Good Carlos Finch and David Pryor!' They were delighted with the copy, especially with the capital letters. The chairman then asked me how many branches I intended to teach. I told him I should not go much into the branches but should try and keep along the main streams. Turning towards his colleagues, he said the young man would do very well. They made out, signed, and gave me my certificate."²⁴ In 1837 the law was modified so that the circuit judge appointed three county examiners, in place of the district trustees, to examine all applicants.

After securing a certificate, the teacher yet had no school. The State furnished a building and some furniture, but the teacher was maintained by private payment and subscription. The subscription school was the only kind taught. So, after securing a certificate, the prospective teacher had to collect pupils. He canvassed from house to house with his subscription articles under his arm.²⁵ At every home there was free conversation about the children, the lessons and their needs. He informed the parents where he would hold the school, and what his curriculum would include—usually spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic as far as the rule of three. In addition he announced his charges, and frequently specified the penalties he would inflict for breaches of discipline. For being idle there was a penalty of two lashes with a beech switch, for whispering, three lashes, and for fighting, six lashes. Each family subscribed for the three months session as many pupils as it

²⁴ Turpie, *Sketches of My Own Times*, 74-75.

²⁵ Turpie, *Sketches of My Own Times*, 75.

could send. The attendance was carefully kept for each pupil, and if any attended longer than the time named in their subscriptions, the extra time was charged for in addition. The prevailing price until 1825, or even later, was 75 cts. per quarter for one pupil. It varied however, in some sections \$1 was the ruling price, in others \$1.50 and in some instances \$2.00 were paid. Salaries were ridiculously low.²⁶ John Titus taught in Johnson county for \$6.00 per month, but his board cost only \$1.00 per month. John Martin received \$8.00 per month in Cass county. Rev. Baynard R. Hall, the first principal of the State Seminary, at Bloomington, received the munificent salary of \$250 per year. Some of the teachers eked out their salaries by chopping wood on Saturdays, and in the evening after school. Probably a majority was obliged to take their pay in kind. Wheat, corn, bacon, venison, hams, dried pumpkin, flour, leather, coonskins, labor, and whiskey were given in exchange for teaching. One teacher took his entire pay in corn, which, when delivered, he sent in a flat-boat to New Orleans. In 1842 a teacher in Orange county contracted to teach a quarter for \$36.50, to be paid as follows: \$25 in State (Indiana) script, \$2.00 in Illinois money, and \$9.50 in currency. And he had an enrollment of seventy pupils. In 1844 Anderson B. Hunter taught a school in a smokehouse, which had been repaired for the occasion, for \$8 per month, and boarded himself. When paid in kind, the teacher, at the end of the quarter, would collect his tuition of wheat, corn, pork, or furs and take a load to the nearest market where he exchanged it for such articles as he needed.

The unmarried teachers "boarded round" and thus took part of their pay in board. The teacher computed the time he was entitled to board for each pupil, and usually selected his own time for quartering himself upon the family. But in most instances he was highly acceptable. Since newspapers and books were scarce, and the wilderness was extremely isolated from the outside world the conversation of an intelligent teacher was always welcome. Indeed in most cases it was counted a privilege, if not an honor, to entertain the teacher. Patrons frequently refused to charge a cent for his board and paid their subscriptions in full. The married teacher did not board around. In later days a schoolmaster's house for his own use was quite commonly built adjacent to the school-house. School terms were called quarters. There was a long quarter of thirteen weeks and a short quarter of twelve weeks.

²⁶ *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 88-89.

Many shiftless, lazy fellows were found in the teaching profession at that time.²⁷ All kinds were represented, the one-eyed teacher, the one-legged teacher, the lame teacher, the teacher who had fits, the teacher who had been educated for the ministry but, on account of his habits of hard drinking, had turned pedagogue, and the teacher who got drunk on Saturday and whipped the entire school on Monday. The first teacher in Vanderburg county was an eccentric hermit, who lived by hunting, trapping and trading. Once an ex-liquor dealer, who had grown too fat to conduct that business longer, became a schoolmaster. Another pedagogue was so fond of drink that he carried his spirits to school with him and drank at intermissions. Two pupils who found his bottle one day and became drunk were whipped for setting such a bad example to the other students. Wesley Hopkins, a Warrick county teacher, regularly carried his whiskey to school in a jug. An old veteran of the Revolution, who taught in Switzerland county, always took a nap in the afternoon during school hours. The pupils were supposed to study their lessons during this time, but when the master's watchful eyes were closed, they amused themselves by catching flies and tossing them into his open mouth. An old sailor who had wandered out into the Indiana woods and become a pedagogue allowed his pupils to spend most of their time roasting potatoes. Another teacher in the southwestern part of the State employed his time between recitations by cracking hickory nuts on one of the punch-eon benches.

Pioneer schools were controlled by the rule of the rod.²⁸ Its use in those days was universal at home as well as at school. In fact the teacher who did not use a birch was regarded as a failure. One pedagogue, who had an agreeable school, taught six weeks without whipping anyone. Parents began to suspect that something was wrong, and one fond father politely informed him that he was making a mistake, and must mend his methods if he expected to continue in the profession. Schoolmasters punished freely, and often savagely, usually with the full approval of the parents. An Evansville teacher like many others, opened his school with prayer, but he always stood with a rod in his hands and prayed with his eyes open. If he caught a youngster in mischief he stopped short in his supplications, called out, "Woe be to you John," and struck him over the shoulders with his rod, after which he resumed his prayer. Another teacher came early to school in the morning to write a love-

²⁷ *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 87-88.

²⁸ *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 138.

letter. Once he left it carelessly on the desk while he proceeded to open school with prayer, kneeling with his rod in his right hand and his right eye open. During his prayer one mischievous boy stole up to the desk to purloin the letter. The teacher, discovering the youngster, broke off in the middle of a sentence and soundly thrashed the culprit, after which diversion he resumed his devotions with equanimity. Girls and boys of all ages expected to be whipped if they should break the rules. The rod was used on the slightest provocation, sometimes on no provocation at all. The boy who was unfortunate enough to get a blot upon his spelling book had to face a corporal reckoning with the master, and a girl caught in the act of tickling the ear of another had to stand up and receive a merry switching. The rod was not the only means of punishment. The "Dunce Block", "Foolscap", and "Leather Spectacles" were employed, besides such exercises as standing in the corner, and standing on one foot. Boys and girls were always seated on different sides of the house. As a punishment, a boy might be required to sit on the girls' side of the house or vice versa. On one occasion a teacher removed a large puncheon from the floor and imprisoned a big girl in the hole beneath.

The pictures of the pioneer schoolmaster given above are not altogether characteristic. They merely show conditions as they were in some instances. On the whole the oldtime country teacher was a man of worth in the community. He usually possessed a certain simplicity of character and singleness of heart that would do honor to any man in the profession today. Although he was, frequently from necessity, a jack-of-all-trades, he was zealously devoted to the duties of his calling, and certainly he worked for the love of the task, because the salary offered no attractions. In the elementary branches he was often exceptionally well versed, especially in geography, spelling, and parsing, as these subjects were understood in that day. Many were expert penmen, some even being able to write short sentences using a pen in each hand at the same time.

BOOKS AND METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

Books were very scarce in pioneer neighborhoods.²⁹ This hampered school work. The more intelligent families brought with them from the east a few favorite volumes, but there was probably not a collection of books in Indiana before 1816 worthy of being called

²⁹ *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 181-187.

a library. Even ministers and other professional men were very scantily supplied. Persons hearing of new books went long distances to borrow them. One boy became so hungry for reading matter that he read over and over again two exposed pages of the "Western Luminary" which were pasted upon the inside of the lid of his mother's linen box. A few family books found in most neighborhoods were Weem's *Life of Washington*, the Bible, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Life of Marion*, Carey's *Olive Branch*, and hymn books and spelling books. It thus became a difficult matter for parents to provide their children with text books. They even went so far as to cut up a volume and paste the parts on boards for the different children of the family. Children were usually taught their letters at home. When the child went to school he first learned to spell out of Dillworth's or Webster's spelling book. About 1850 McGuffey's *Eclectic Speller* came into use. As old time schoolmasters placed great emphasis on spelling, it was the custom to give half a day of each week to a spelling match. Pupils knew the book so well that they could spell the words in the exact order in which they came. After the pupil learned to spell sufficiently well he was set to reading. The elementary spelling book served both as a speller and a reader. But the pupil had to be able to pronounce all the words in the book before he was permitted to do formal reading. In the early period there were few readers of any kind. Any book from home might be used, the Bible often serving the purpose. Even newspapers were elevated to the dignity of readers when nothing else could be obtained. About 1835 Emerson's readers came into use, but they were displaced later by McGuffey's *Eclectic Series*. The latter books ranked high for the time. They introduced the children to higher American literature and gave them a taste for reading that was worth while: so that the name of Longfellow, Irving, Bryant, Hawthorne, and others became familiar to pupils of that day.

The next step on the educational ladder was learning to write. Mothers made copybooks by sewing together a few sheets of foolscap paper. Pens were cut from goose quills. Ink was manufactured from oakballs saturated with vinegar. Even pokeberry juice was employed, but its use was not general because it soured too easily. A favorite inkstand was a section of a cow's horn sawed off and fitted with a wooden, water-tight bottom. The copies set by the teachers were generally moral or patriotic precepts such as, "Commandments ten God gave to men," "Evil communications corrupt good manners," "Eternal Vigilance is the price of liberty."

The next thing in order for the boys was arithmetic, for this was considered peculiarly a boy's subject. Few girls gave much attention to it. Students in arithmetic did not recite, they merely "ciphered" the sums in the book, the teacher giving little attention unless called on for help. Ray's *Arithmetic* was generally used about 1850. In every case the abstract rule was first given, and, with this as a basis, the pupils solved the problems according to rule. Such a system did not foster much thinking. When an applicant for a teacher's license was asked how much 25 times 25 cents are, he was unable to give the answer, stating that he had never met such a problem in any arithmetic. Girls studied geography and grammar, especially, since they were not considered to have "heads for figures." Of all the pioneer text books, geographies were almost the only ones which were illustrated. Yet these two subjects were not much studied by anybody in the early days. The former was considered proper if there was time for it, but the study of grammar was considered an absolute waste of time. As late as 1845, a teacher at Vevay in his written contract was required not to teach grammar. Most school work was done with quill pens, and the making and mending of quill pens was a part of the regular duty and employment of the teacher. Steel pens were not used until later. The blackboard, in some form, came into use earlier, however. Each pupil owned his individual eraser made of raw wool.

In addition to the rudiments of learning some of the masters taught a little correct deportment. They instructed pupils how to stand erect, to walk and bow in good form, to remove the hat on entering the room, and how to replace it on departing. They were especially admonished to respect old age and to reverence the "ministers of the Word."

LOUD SCHOOLS

"Loud" schools were the rule in the early days in Indiana.³⁰ In fact that kind was considered more efficient than the "silent" school. Boys and girls spelled and read at the top of their voices, and sometimes the roar of lesson-getting could be heard as far as three-quarters of a mile. One teacher regularly took his fiddle to school and solaced himself with music while his pupils were shouting over their lessons. It was difficult to keep pupils at work in such an uproar, there being too great an opportunity for the idler, who, while shouting as loudly as the others, really did no work at all. The lazy boy

³⁰ *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 136.

might continuously roar at one word, or over a line of poetry, or trumpet through his nose, and the teacher be none the wiser. In later times the loud school gradually went out of fashion, supplanted by the more orderly form of the present day.

Friday was often observed as a speech day. In the afternoon the older boys recited selections which they had committed to memory, and the girls read compositions. Both were publicly criticised by the master. Many people who became eminent in later years attributed their success to the old-time speech day.

BARRING THE TEACHER OUT

A common practice in early school days was that of barring out the master. This usually accompanied the Christmas celebration, in case the master did not treat the school. The big boys usually barred the door and kept him out until he agreed to furnish a treat, usually apples. Of course he resisted, otherwise there would have been no fun. If he was obstinate and held out too long he might be ducked in a neighboring creek. One stubborn teacher was ducked in an icy pond, and, when this did not bring a treat, his tormenters placed chunks of ice on his bare bosom. If outsiders had not interfered serious consequences would doubtless have followed. Another pedagogue, who had just had a tooth extracted, despite his warning as to the risk, was plunged into the cold waters of a creek. Lockjaw followed, from which he died. But most teachers yielded after a show of resistance, getting as much merriment out of the affair as the pupils. However, the treat did not always consist of apples. The following quotation describes a treat offered by a certain pioneer teacher: "One Christmas morning our teacher brought a jug of whiskey to which he added some eggs and sugar; he shook it up and called it 'egg-nog.' When noon came he made a little speech and said that the egg-nog was his treat to us; that we must not drink too much of it, and must be good children while he went home to take dinner with his wife and some invited friends. We were good, but we did not leave any of the egg-nog for the teacher and his friends who came to school with him in the afternoon."³¹ A Morgan county teacher found himself barred out and gained admittance with a jug of whiskey. He dealt out the whiskey liberally and it was not long before some of the boys were too full for utterance and had to be sent home. One youngster went home as happy as a lark but his father met him with a big rod that

³¹ Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 468.

completely brought him to his senses. These, however, are exceptional cases for in most instances public sentiment would not have sanctioned the use of liquors.

HARDSHIPS OF PIONEER SCHOOL CHILDREN

Pioneer children endured many hardships in their efforts to secure the rudiments of knowledge. It was not unusual for pupils to attend from a distance of three or four miles. Many times they encountered wild beasts, or even sulking savages. In the autumn they found it delightful to travel along the winding paths as they trudged over the hills and hollows, to view the many-hued leaves and inhale the fragrance of the flowers, to hear the merry chatter of the squirrels and the glad notes of the birds as they flitted from tree to tree, to walk on the light carpet of velvety leaves, cool and soft to the bare young feet. But in winter there was a different picture. Boots were not in fashion, so boys and girls came to school with their feet encased in old socks or stockings which kept the snow out fairly well. Some children went barefoot winter and summer.³² It seems that their feet and legs, like our hands, became enured to cold. Sanford Cox in his *Early Settlement* draws a graphic picture of the youngsters of Lafayette about 1825, who were skating on the ice, some with skates, some with shoes, and some barefoot. In some cases a barefoot pupil would carry a hot board or stone, by which he made his way through the cold. When his feet became too chilled he stood upon the board or stone until the numbness wore off, after which he would make another dash for the schoolhouse. As the schoolhouse fireplace consumed immense quantities of wood the teacher detailed a number of pupils each day to cut and carry wood for the fire. Indeed our fathers and mothers did not travel an easy path in their quest for knowledge.

REAL EDUCATION OF THE EARLY HOOSIERS

After all, the pioneer children received their real education in the great out-of-doors, in the forests and by the streams. There was plenty of arithmetic, manual training, and physical culture for boys, in the work they did with their fathers, building and plastering cabins, clearing and fencing the farms, and in doing hundreds of other things which had to be done on a pioneer farm. The girls learned likewise through the assistance they rendered their mothers, in spinning and weaving, in making butter and cheese, and in

³² *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 82.

doing all the little things that a pioneer housewife found to do. And best of all the training the girls and boys received in those days fitted them for their life's work, which is more than can be said of much of our modern education.

CHAPTER VI. SOCIAL LIFE

The life of the Hoosier pioneers was not all hardship and deprivation. They had many pleasures and amusements to relieve their hard toil. Of course there were no theatres, Sunday excursions or league baseball games, or other more genteel amusements to which we are accustomed today, but there was no lack of wholesome fun and frolic. Above all there was about it a hearty and jovial spirit that is altogether absent in our modern commercial merrymaking. Our fathers lived an isolated life in sparsely settled communities; so, any neighborhood social event was anticipated with delight and glee that was almost childish in its nature. Social pleasures, too, were largely connected with the neighborhood tasks of the settlers. If logs were to be rolled, the neighbors assembled to roll them; if a cabin was to be built, the pioneers came for miles around to assist. There were corn huskings, sheep-shearings, apple-parings, sugar-boilings, quilting bees, and hog-killing.

LOG ROLLING

The pioneer himself could fell the trees of his farm, cut them into proper lengths, clear away the brush and limbs, but in order to roll the logs into a heap for burning he was compelled to call in his neighbors.³³ On the appointed day, they all came, they and their wives and children, the men to pile the logs and the women to cook for the feast that always followed the work. Log-rollings, at first sight, do not suggest fun and pleasure, yet they were eagerly looked forward to, especially by the young people. Such undertakings meant much hard, even excessive work, nevertheless the toil itself was turned into sport and play. When the last log was in position feasting and enjoyment began.

Usually the men were separated into two divisions, and the clearing was apportioned so as to give each division relatively the same amount of work. Each chose an experienced man as leader and, when begun, the contest never flagged. The section which first disposed of the last log was declared the winner. This was no little honor, for the victory would be discussed in other settle-

³³ *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 4-5; Hall, *The New Purchase*, 222-245.

ments and praises of the heroes sung far and wide. As great individual rivalry occurred among the younger men, some amazing feats of strength were performed. A favorite test was to determine which of two men could outlift the other, each lifting at one end of a log with a handspike. After the work was done the log heaps were fired, and a hundred bonfires reddened the sky. A more beautiful sight can scarcely be imagined.

Log rollings were especially frequented by candidates and politicians. Here they had an opportunity to present their claims and defend themselves against trivial or unfounded charges. But such seekers were required to show their mettle. Sometimes rival candidates were assigned as leaders of opposing sections of workers. Then work proceeded under the highest stress. In fact some enterprising farmers, it is said, made a practice of deferring their log rollings until campaign time (some kind of an election was held every year), about a month preceding the election, in order to reap the benefit of the labor and enthusiasm of the various candidates.

After the hard day's work, the boys and young men were still equal to foot races, wrestling matches, pole-vaulting, tug-of-war, lap-jacket, and other feats of skill on which the young fellows prided themselves. Pitching quoits was also a favorite pastime on such occasions.

HUSKINGS

The husking of corn was an important work and was a neighborhood affair. Both sexes participated. They usually assembled in a large barn which was arranged for the occasion, where they sat in a circle and played "brogue it about" while they worked. Each gentleman selecting a lady partner when the husking began, and under the zest of the frolic, the work progressed with surprising rapidity. When a lady found a red ear she was entitled to a kiss from every gentleman present; when a gentleman found one he was entitled to kiss every lady present. After the corn was all husked a good supper was served. Then, after the old folks had left, the remainder of the evening was spent in dancing and in games.

QUILTING BEE

Of equal importance was the quilting bee, where the women had their gossip. In the afternoon, ladies for miles around gathered at the appointed home to manufacture warm quilts, often of curious patterns and design. Such meetings were busy news exchanges for

the women could talk as they worked. As soon as the quilt could be "got off", the entertainment began. In the evening the men came and the time was spent by the young people in games and dancing.

Bounteous feasting always accompanied the hard labor of neighborhood gatherings. A meal, consisting of venison, roast turkey, fried chicken, hominy, ham and eggs, potatoes, wild hog, steaming cornbread, hot biscuits, gingerbread, preserves, jellies, tarts, pies, and good milk and butter, all set on a large table, about which the workers gathered, could not fail to satisfy the appetite of an epicure. Good cider was always at hand to moisten thirsty tongues. Total abstinence was not in fashion in those days, and the farmer who did not supply his hands with liquor was considered stingy indeed. A jug of whiskey was considered necessary for any undertaking of importance.³⁴ The beverage was homemade and often of such little strength that it was likely to freeze or sour.

THE SHOOTING MATCH

To pioneer people and early settlers the rifle was perhaps the most indispensable weapon. With it they procured their meat from the forest, defended their homes from wild men and wild animals, preserved their live stock from prowling enemies, and saved their cornfields from the depredations of squirrels and bears. To be a sure shot was a matter of no little importance. Nothing did more to promote good marksmanship than the shooting match.³⁵ But it served also a larger purpose. It was a day of recreation and amusement, when friends gathered for social intercourse, to crack jokes, spin yarns, and talk of former experiences. Often these matches virtually became political meetings, where candidates read their certificates and made stump speeches. They were usually held on Saturday, and every fellow in the community who could "split a bullet on his knife blade" or "take the rag off the bush" came to display his skill and try his luck. The prizes were beeves, hogs, turkeys, venison, and on some occasions a quantity of meal or a half-barrel of whiskey was the reward of skill. Often a live turkey or goose furnished the target. Each participant was charged his proportionate share of the value of the things offered, the charge depending, of course, on the number of participants. Or, if the number of participants was not equal to the number of chances

³⁴ Levering, *Historic Indiana*, 74.

³⁵ Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 493-495; Hall, *The New Purchase*, I, 126-128; *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 1-2.

at an arbitrary price, the owner of the prize took the remaining chances and shot for himself. A level place in the woods was selected for a range, and a roughly outlined rectangle cleared of bushes and twigs. Along the sides the spectators formed, standing, stooping, or lying in characteristic attitudes. A large tree at one end often served as a target. From its trunk were measured off in a straight line towards the other end of the rectangle two distances for shooting, eighty-five and one hundred yard lines. On the former the marksman who fired off-hand stood; at the one-hundred yard line rests were placed by those who preferred to shoot in that fashion. Each man prepared for himself a separate target which was a poplar shingle having near the center a spot blackened with powder or charcoal as a ground. On this ground a piece of white paper, about an inch square, with a diamond shaped hole in the center, was tacked. The point of intersection of the diagonals of the diamond was the true centers of the target and from this as a center was described a circle with a four inch radius. Each participant was allowed three shots. If any one of them struck beyond the circumference, even by a hair's breath, all the other shots, even if in the center, did not count. The unhappy marksman lost. But if all three struck within the circle they were measured by a line from the center of the diamond to the nearest edge of the bullet hole; however, if a ball grazed the center, the line was drawn from the center of the diamond to the middle of the bullet hole. Then the three lengths were added and estimated as one. The man showing the shortest length won the prize. This was called line shooting. The most scrupulous exactness was always observed in determining distances so that there might be no appearance of cheating. Each man placed his own target against the tree and fired his three shots in succession. On an average it required about fifteen minutes for the firing. One or two fellows stood behind the target trees to announce the results. This seems dangerous, yet accidents rarely happened. On one occasion, however, one man peeped out to learn the cause of delay in the shooting and was unluckily killed. On another occasion an old man was standing behind the tree awaiting the report. At the flash of the gun he fell dead from behind the tree. The trunk was hollow—a mere shell at the place where he stood—and the bullet had passed through it into his body. Practical jokers were always present making fun for the company. They “hoodooed” the crack shot and bewitched the rifle of a prospective prize-winner.

GOOSE PULLING

One of the rudest of early sports was goosepulling.³⁶ A goose with its neck well greased or soaped was fastened to a post at the proper height from the ground, or suspended from the limb of a tree. Men, on horseback, racing at full speed endeavored to grasp the neck of the fowl and tear its head from the live and struggling body. It often took hours for the winner to accomplish his purpose. This cruel practice died out in later years.

DANCING

Neighborhood tasks like house raising or corn huskings as we have stated, were usually followed at night by a dance or play party. The country fiddler came in with his battered old violin, and the dance was held on the puncheon floor by the light of the fire. Occasionally when no fiddler was to be had the party had to depend on vocal music to which they danced. But this was unusual. From his instrument the musician drew such tunes as "Old Zip Coon," "Jay Bird," "Old Dan Tucker," and "Possum up a Gum Stump," all the while violently flourishing his bow and patting his foot in accent. A "caller" called out the different formations of the square dances. Each neighborhood had its own "caller," many of whom attained not a little notoriety, and were even in demand outside the community. The following is an example of a common call:

Balance one and balance eight,

Swing 'em on the corner like you swing 'em on the gate;

Bow to your lady and then promenade,

First couple out, to the couple on the right;

Lady round the lady and the gent solo,

And the lady round the gent and the gent don't go;

Ladies do-ce-do and the gents, you know,

Chicken in a bread pan, pickin' up the dough,

Turn 'em roun and roun, as pretty as you can;

An' why in the world don't you left alaman,

Right hand to pardner and grand right and left,

And a big, big swing, an' a little hug too,

Swing your honey and she'll swing you,

Promenade eight, when you get all straight.

First couple out to the right;

Cage the bird, three hands round;

Birdie hop out, and crow hop in,

³⁶ *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 4.

Three hands round, and go it again;
 Alaman left, back to the pardner and grand right and left,
 Come to your pardner, an' a half,
 Yellar canary right, and jay-bird left;
 Next to your pardner and all chaw hay,
 You know where and I don't care,
 Seat your pardner in the old arm chair.³⁷

The dancing was vigorous. They knew little of glides, and high steps with flourishing swings were altogether good form. A jig or a "hoe-down" was often thrown in, and some of the gay young fellows could "cut the pigeon's wing" or throw in an extra "double shuffle" to fill out the measure. In later years round dances such as the waltz, polka, and schottische were introduced, much to the dissatisfaction of the old time dancers who had difficulty in acquiring the new setps. Some even refused to learn, claiming that they were new fangled, "citified" notions after all, and quite beneath the notice of a true dancer.

A special form of dancing was the dancing picnic, a reminder of which we still have at the country fourth of July celebrations. People came to a new barn or a green lawn, but more often to some beautiful grove, with baskets of dinner to spend the day in social converse and enjoyment, heightened by a dance in the afternoon. A circular piece of ground was cleared off and covered with green, new saw-dust. Seats were provided around this. A platform on one side was provided for the musicians. Those who danced "paid the fiddler" but all were welcome. This form of dancing was introduced from the South.

SOCIAL GAMES

In some sections of the State dancing was not approved. Drinking and disorder had become so prevalent at such gatherings that ministers and church people made war upon the entertainment and drove it from the better neighborhoods altogether. In such communities the chief amusements were forfeit games and marching games. "Keeping Post Office," "Picking Cherries," and "Building the Bridge," were forfeit games. The forfeits were always kisses. Marching plays had in them all the elements of a dance. In fact "Sociability," "Weev'ly wheat," and "Four Hands Around" were often called compromise dances. Because kissing always formed the chief feature of marching plays, they came to be known familiarly as "gum sucks." "We're Marching Down to Old Quebec,"

³⁷ Levering, *Historic Indiana*, index.

"Sailing on the Boat When the Tide Runs High," "King William was King James' Son", "Old Dusty Miller", and many others, equally interesting, were in high favor with the pioneer belles and beaux. They were sung as the players marched, often with little regard for time or rhythm, but with unbounded energy; and many of them were so similar in air and measure that one selection readily glided into another. A common marching song ran:

Just from Shiloh, skiptumaloo,
Just from Shiloh, skiptumaloo,
Just from Shiloh, skiptumaloo,
Skiptumaloo my darling.

Another which was sung with much gusto was:

Keep one window, tidy oh,
Keep two windows, tidy oh,
Keep three windows, tidy oh,
Jingle at the window, tidy oh,
Jingle at the window, tidy oh,

Another which in movement was practically a Virginia Reel ran:

Do-ce-do, to your best liking,
Do-ce-do, to your best liking,
Do-ce-do, to your best liking,
And swing your love so handy.

The parties always closed with kissing songs. One was:

Down on this carpet you must kneel,
And kiss your true love in the field;
Kiss the one that you confess
To be the one that you love best;
Kiss her now and kiss her then,
And kiss her when you meet again.

SLEIGH RIDES

In winter young people had real unalloyed fun. The bob-sled was an important factor in winter enjoyment. It consisted of two short pairs of runners set tandem fashion, the front pair responding freely to the tongue like the front wheels of a wagon. Thus it afforded extra length for a sleigh. At the same time it allowed turns to be safely made. When surmounted by a big box-bed partially filled with clean straw it made a snug warm nest for a dozen or more boys and girls. Probably no social crowd was so hilarious as a jolly bob-sled party on a bright moonlight night. The big runners sang a song to the crisp white snow, and the night resounded with flying hoofs and jangling bells and the gay songs of boys and

girls. Doubtless the old bob-sled was a strong factor in promoting early marriages, for a half-score of buxom girls and husky young men crowded within the compass of the bed of a sleigh was a powerful stimulus to love's young dream. Sleigh-riding to the spelling match or to the singing school was the great joy of the winter months.³⁸

THE SPELLING SCHOOL

One of the chief public entertainments of the early settlers was the spelling school.³⁹ It was looked forward to with much anticipation and anxiety. When the time came the whole neighborhood, or even several neighborhoods, came together for an intellectual contest. Two young people chose sides, and the teacher who was master of ceremonies pronounced the words. They spelled in various ways, each section having its favorite method. Sometimes they spelled across, sometimes "word-catchers" were employed, again the "spelledown" process was the means of determining the contest. After the match the country swains took the girls home, often by very round-a-bout ways.

SINGING SCHOOLS

Singing schools were scarcely less popular than the spelling matches.⁴⁰ They served the double purpose of social gatherings and schools of vocal instruction. The meetings were usually held on Sunday afternoon in a district schoolhouse or church. Here the local singing master, with his tuning fork in his hand and without any accompaniment taught the whole neighborhood to read buckwheat notes and sing sacred songs from the old song books. In the early books, like the *Sacred Melodeon*, *Christian Psalmist* and *Missouri Harmony*, the tunes were represented by four buckwheat notes; the round one called "sol," the square on "la," the triangular one "fa" and the diamond shaped on "mi." They were repeated to make the full octave. About 1850 the round note system was introduced by Yankee singing masters. The pioneer book of the new system was the *Carmina Sacra* in which the tunes were of German or Puritan character, and, naturally, not so well accepted by the old folks as the early songs which they had learned in their youth. A charge of fifty to seventy-five cents per pupil for a term of twelve lessons was made. Not infrequently several masters were conducting

³⁸ *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 66.

³⁹ *History of Johnson County*, 267-269.

⁴⁰ *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 51-52; *History of Johnson County*, 269-270.

schools in the same neighborhood. Joint meetings were often held at which there was great rivalry between the classes. Singers were chosen very much as in spelling matches. At the price charged classes frequently became too large for the room. So attractive was the work that young Quakers (the Quaker church then opposed singing) were often enrolled, and it is due to this that the second generation of Quakers has changed its attitude toward music.

DEBATING SOCIETIES

Debating clubs, moot courts, and mock legislatures were common, especially in the smaller villages of Indiana. They furnished an opportunity for social fellowship and afforded practice in impromptu speaking and parliamentary usage. Many of the State's great statesmen, orators, and thinkers received their first inspiration at these meetings. A literary society was found in almost every neighborhood in the early fifties. Joint meetings were often held with neighboring societies. The modern literary club originated in the old Hoosier "Literaries."

WEDDINGS

A wedding was always an event of the greatest importance because it meant a season of feasting and frolic for young and old, lasting several days.⁴¹ Young people in the early days were married much earlier than they are today. A boy of sixteen or seventeen was counted on to do a man's part in the farm work, in hunting, or in scouting against the Indians. There was no inequality of social position or wealth to blight the hopes of cupid, for all occupied practically the same position in life. Money was not necessary. Intoxicating health balanced the lack of a bank account. Money of any kind was very scarce in those days, so scarce that fathers often found it difficult to make financial provision for the legal part of the ceremony. The country swain, in his cowhide boots, and suit of blue jeans, was awkward and self-conscious, but he had a kind heart; and his lady love in her dress of linsey-woolsey was as shy and bashful as he. The following story told by a descendant of a pioneer characterizes the timid lover.⁴² One evening a young pioneer dressed in his Sunday-best went to call upon a comely girl who lived in the neighborhood. When he entered the home he

⁴¹ Hall, *The New Purchase*, I, 158-184; Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 168.

⁴² *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 87.

found that all the chairs and stools in the cabin were occupied by visiting neighbors. The embarrassed young man slipped back into the corner of the room where there was a large kettle filled with blue dye, covered with a cloth. The poor fellow, thinking he had discovered a resting place for his awkward form, sat down in it, falling in head and heels in his new tow linen suit. When last seen he was fleeing from the place like a blue streak in the moonlight. The expression, "went like a blue streak" may have originated in that incident. But courtships in those days were as successful as in these, and a marriageable girl that found no husband was considered unfortunate indeed.

Everybody in the entire neighborhood knew he would be invited to the marriage celebration. In fact in most communities no invitation was needed; the latch string was out to all who wished to come, especially to neighbors. In some cases, however, those who wished to do something beyond the ordinary sent a written invitation to the intended guests. A single invitation was sent to all of them, the groomsman riding from house to house with the "invite" as it was called. This important document was composed by the local schoolmaster. Almost every neighborhood had a local preacher who was empowered to perform the ceremony, and there were squires also who could tie a knot for very reasonable fee. The following interesting note was sent to a local minister asking him to perform a marriage ceremony:⁴³

REV. MR. HILSBURY ESQ.,—you are perticularly invited to attend the house of mr. Abrim Ashford esq. to injine upon i the yoke of konjigal mattrimunny with his doter miss Susan Ashford as was—Thersday mornin next 10 oklok before dinner a.m.

MR. JOSEPH REDDEN your humbell sarv't,

MR. WM. WELDON, groomsman.

On the nuptial day the bridegroom and his best fellows usually ten, gathered at his father's home, and all went to the home of the bride, timing their progress so as to arrive about noon. In connection with this journey, a diversion called "running for the bottle" was often indulged in. Two of the best mounted were selected to compete. When within a half mile of the bride's home the word was given and the two started out at breakneck speed. The one who first reached a designated spot became the winner of the prize, a bottle of corn whiskey, with which he treated the remainder of the party when they came up.

⁴³ Hall, *The New Purchase*, I, 158.

The guests usually came on horseback. The men folks went ahead to direct the way through the woods, clear away the brush, and let down the fences.

Wedding garments in those days were entirely homemade like everything else; but the bride in her dress of linsey-woolsey and the groom in his shining new cowhide boots were as well married as any modern bride and groom, even if they did not carry themselves with the same ease and grace.

The ceremony was usually performed about twelve o'clock in the day, although it sometimes took place as late as three o'clock. After the words were pronounced the important part of the celebration—so far as the guests were concerned—began. Great preparations were made for the wedding meal. Tribute was levied upon the whole neighborhood; so in a literal way the whole neighborhood was interested in the event. Dishes of china, pewter, and silver; spoons of pewter, wood and horn; table linen; all things necessary for the occasion, were collected from various parts of the settlement. So few china dishes were possessed that scarce a whole neighborhood could set a wedding table. The menu consisted of the best that the land could afford. Often a monster potpie, holding from ten to twelve chickens, occupied the center of the table.⁴⁴ Potpie was a favorite dish with the early woodsman. Meats of all kinds, (wild meat was plentiful) steaming cornbread, potatoes, onions, pumpkin, butter, pies, preserves of all kinds, wild honey, and delicious pound cakes, weighted down the long rough table which was covered with a piece of white linen that had lain in the garden for weeks to bleach. Around this board the hungry people were seated, the bride and groom at one end, and the bridesmaid and groomsman at the other. After the dinner the old folks returned to their homes, but the young folks always remained for a dance that lasted frequently until the next morning. The happy party played games and tripped away to the merry tunes of the sleepy old fiddler.

THE INFARE

The infare, the wedding reception at the home of the groom's father the next day, was a repetition of the entertainment of the previous day.⁴⁵ The same people gathered, the young men again raced for the bottle, and all had a feast of good things, followed by another dance at night.

⁴⁴ Hall, *The New Purchase*, I, 181-184.

⁴⁵ Cockrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, 186.

Little capital was needed to start a new home. The young people were content to begin life as their fathers and mothers before them had done, with nothing more than what they could manufacture with their own hands. Money was not to be had. The following story illustrates the lack of coin and the scant capital with which some marriages were consummated.⁴⁶ A certain "squire" Jones saw a young man ride up with a young lady behind him. They dismounted; he hitched his horse and they went toward the house and were invited to be seated. After waiting a few minutes the young man asked if he were the "squire." He informed him that he was. He then asked the squire what he charged for tying the knot. "You mean for marry you?"—"Yes sir."—"One dollar," said the squire—"Will you take it in trade?"—"What kind of trade,"—"Beeswax."—"Bring it in." The young man returned to where the horse was tied, and brought in the beeswax, but it lacked forty cents of being enough to pay the bill. After sitting pensive for some minutes the young man went to the door and said, "Well Sal, let's be going." Sal followed slowly to the door, when, turning to the justice, with an entreating look, she said: "Well, Squire, can't you tie the knot as far as the beeswax goes anyhow?" And he did and they were married.

TRAINING DAY

In the county town was held the general muster which was a meeting of the militia of the county for the purpose of instruction and drill. It was held late in the summer after the crops had been "laid by." All persons subject to military duty were notified to attend and take their places in the company and regiment to which they were assigned. The militiamen were not uniformed but came in ordinary clothing. Their weapons were of no particular pattern—rifles, shotguns, carbines, and muskets—and with them they awkwardly went through the manual of arms. This military force was often called the "corn stalk" militia, because it is said they carried corn-stalks in place of guns.⁴⁷ This doubtless is untrue, but some times they wore corn tassels in their hats or caps, which fact may have given rise to the sobriquet.

CIRCUS DAY

In many of the communities a circus came once a year in the summer. In the rough vernacular of the people it was called the

⁴⁶ Levering, *Historic Indiana*, 90.

⁴⁷ Turpie, *Sketches of My Own Times*, 31-32.

"show" even if it was advertised under such high sounding names as the "hippodrome" or the amphitheater." It traveled by the ordinary country roads, and the people turned out en masse to see the elephant cross the river. At high noon the grand entry into the village was made with gorgeous chariots, horseback processions, and martial music. The whole country attended, and the big tent was filled with simple people, gazing in open-mouthed wonder at the astonishing feats performed in the ring.

On Saturday afternoon the early Hoosiers went to town. It was a holiday and no man was expected to work. A load of produce might be taken for sale or barter, but no serious labor was tolerated. Here the farmers transacted a little business, "swapped" horses, and exchanged gossip with their neighbors.

MINOR NOTICES

FORT KNOX

The location of Fort Knox has long been a subject of controversy among the citizens of Vincennes. There are two traditions current, one that it was situated about three miles north of the town on the immediate bank of the Wabash; the other that it was down in the town near where old Fort Sackville stood.

The following evidence has lately come to light. Among the papers of the late Professor Wylie is a map of Illinois drawn by John Mellish in 1818.. This was drawn from the surveys of the General Land Office. On this map fortunately is located Vincennes and about three miles up the Wabash is also located Fort Knox. The map shows every evidence of being reliable.

In J. B. Finley's *Life Among the Indians*, page 188, there is quoted a letter by Captain G. R. Floyd then commanding at Fort Knox, dated August 14, 1810 which says, 'The Shawnee Indians have come; they passed this garrison, which is three miles above Vincennes, on Sunday last in eighty canoes, etc.' Reverent Finley who was well acquainted with the facts repeats the statement in his own language. These two evidences leave little doubt as to the location of the old Fort.

This fort was built in 1787 by Major John F. Hamtramck under orders of General Josiah Harmar who then commanded the United States army in the West. During the Indian wars from 1790 to 1815 it was occupied by strong garrisons, sometimes numbering 1,000 men. Armies of much larger size under Hamtramck, Russell, and Hopkins rendezvoused there at different times. No description of the fort has been found.

CHURCH HISTORY

The Methodist Church in Indiana is devoting considerable attention to historical matters connected with the early church of Indiana. Dr. Sweet, professor of history at DePauw University, is aiding in the work. Dr. Herrick was recently appointed historian by the North Indiana Conference. Dr. John Poucher is doing a similar work for Southern Indiana. Professor Sweet is hopeful that the other two Indiana Conferences will undertake systematic and

thorough surveys. Every church in Indiana and every church organization should be investigated and its record preserved. Nothing can be more interesting or in the end more valuable to the churches themselves than such a study. It was no easy task to found the churches of Indiana and fight their early battles. The men and women who did that work are entitled to have their records preserved. If the present generation is so much engrossed in other ways that it has no interest in such things it should at least rest assured that future generations will appreciate the work of the pioneer preachers and place a proper value on their history.

THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

This is one of the oldest organizations in the State, dating from December 11, 1830. Its first president was the distinguished federal judge, Benjamin Parke, who died of cholera, at his home in Salem, July 12, 1835. His death perhaps had much to do in preventing a complete organization of the work the Society had undertaken. At that time the first settlers of the State, and the founders of the government were alive. Had the society succeeded in getting well-organized and providing a substantial home it doubtless would have received all the valuable documents of our early history.

Unfortunately no master hand took hold of the organization and its work has not been accomplished. This does not mean that many able men have not devoted a great deal of time and money to the work. The historian, John B. Dillon, did some valuable work in connection with the society. But the man who did most for it and who took deepest interest in preserving the State's history was the late William H. English. The Society has numbered among its members many of the most distinguished men of the State. It has now a membership of about seventy-five. It has never had funds adequate to its work.

It seems that now would be an opportune time to revive interest in the organization and its work. Many leading men have expressed an interest in it lately. There are men and women in Indiana able to do this work as well as it is being done in any other State. Why not have a mass meeting of all persons in the State interested in the work of the Society as soon as the political campaign of the year is over? This is merely a suggestion. It is believed there are 1,000 persons in Indiana sufficiently interested in the work to join the society.

PRIDE'S FORT

About 1800 a pioneer named Woolsey Pride settled at White Oak Springs in Pike county near the present city of Petersburg. He soon found that he had located near one of the favorite hunting trails of the redmen. They came down White River or down the Wabash and up White River to a point near Pride's fort from which place they crossed over to hunt in Kentucky. As soon as a few white settlers came up they built a fort at the springs. This fort was used as a meeting place for the rangers who patrolled the Vincennes trace from about 1806 to the close of the War of 1812. Parties of rangers also patrolled the road to Yellow Banks down near Rockport on the Ohio, as well as the trace from where Evansville now stands. Pride's fort has stood, or a part of it, up until the present used for all manner of purposes from a church and school house to a barn. Recently its owner has decided to destroy it and it seems that one of the last, if not indeed the last, of the old frontier stockades will soon be gone.

"FIRSTS"

Just at present there are being discovered in this State a large number of "firsts." We read in the papers of "first" roads, "first" mills, "first" cotton fields, "first" associations of various kinds, "oldest" churches and schools. A humorous illustration of this appeared recently in the *Indianapolis News*. A Richmond correspondent of the *News* discovered that the honor of the "first" brewery in the State belonged to Richmond, having been established there in 1827. Mrs. Nora C. Fretagest, librarian of New Harmony raises an objection to this claim in behalf of New Harmony. She is right. Among my notes from the *Western Sun* I find an advertisement as follows:

F. Rapp will always have on hand and for sale the first quality of STRONG BEER by the barrel, at Harmonie, Indiana. April 30, 1819.

Another advertisement from the *Western Sun*, March 21, 1818, reads as follows:

J. and W. L. Coleman announce that they have erected a large brewery and are in the market for 2,000 bushels of barley and wheat, fifty cents per pound will be paid for hops. Draft, Porter, and strong beer furnished by the barrel or half barrel for home use, or in large quantities for export.

The Colemans lived at Vincennes. As a matter of fact inhabitants of Vincennes were not only making but consuming quantities of beer before the settlers of either Richmond or New Harmonie were born.

REVIEWS AND NOTES.

History of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Orleans, Indiana, by JOHN POUCHER, D. D., Orleans, Ind., pp. 18, 1914.

This is an attempt to perpetuate a bit of local history. There is a general movement throughout the West to perpetuate the history of individual churches and schools. At least one Western State has undertaken a religious historical survey in which it is planned to compile a complete history of every church in the State. Dr. Poucher has divided his subject into three parts. In the first he gives a brief history of the town of Orleans from its founding in 1815 by William McFarland and Samuel Lewis down to the present. The main portion of the pamphlet is devoted to the History of the Church. Dr. Poucher here encounters a trouble that will often be met by the serious historian in our State. The earliest records are lost. Who the first preacher was, or what denomination he represented will perhaps never be known again. Orleans was on an early line of travel and doubtless was visited before Indiana was a State. The celebrated Presbyterian preacher W. W. Martin preached in the neighborhood in 1816. Lorenzo Dow the eccentric Methodist preacher of that early day, often visited Orleans. Dr. Poucher has been able to find a record of the Methodist preachers beginning about 1822. There is an unbroken succession from that time on to the present. In 1826 the little Methodist congregation built a 30x40 log church. The long list of preachers contains many names well-known in Indiana History. The third part of the pamphlet is devoted to the members whom the auditor calls the "Personals workers."

Drainage and Reclamation of the Swamps and Overflowing Lands, by CHARLES KETTLEBOROUGH, Indiana Bureau of Legislative Information Bulletin, No. 2, Indianapolis, pp. 68, 1914.

This is a historical discussion of the drainage question in Indiana. The purpose of the *Bulletin* is to awaken the people of the State and especially the General Assembly to the fact that the State is losing millions of dollars every year through lack of proper drainage. The State has already reclaimed 2,500,000 acres valued at \$68,000,000 but it is believed that a scientific drainage system would do much more. The sanitary side of the question is also emphasized.

A revival of interest in drainage sprang up ten or fifteen years

ago simultaneously with the great rise in land values. A part of this drainage impulse came also from the fact that the arable free public lands in the west had all been occupied.

A table showing the undrained lands in the various States gives Indiana 625,000 acres of such land. The total for the United States is given as 79,000,000, acres, one fourth of which is in Florida. The main reasons for drainage are given as follows: to improve the roads, to reclaim the land, and to improve health.

Systematic drainage did not begin till about 1880 when the rising price of land began to justify the use of costly machinery. The writer estimates that 3,500,000 acres of land in Indiana were originally swampy. Of this amount about 1,500,000 acres have been fairly well drained, while at least one million acres can hardly be said to be drained at all.

It is an interesting little pamphlet and suggests a line of work which the State government can do with great profit to the citizens. In closing, the author sums up the work now being done in other States.

Seven suggestions are made to the General Assembly, should it undertake legislation along this line. (1) A new systematic drainage law. (2) A State engineer. (3) Flood control and river improvement. (4) The public health. (5) Co-operation with experts. (6) Public ownership of dredging machinery. (7) Preservation of water power.

The Unknown God and Other Orthodox Essays is the title of a small volume of miscellaneous essays by Jacob Piatt Dunn. The first essay is a discussion of the meaning of the dedication, Paul found on the Athenian altar "To the Unknown God." Mr. Dunn comes to the conclusion that the expression refers to the Greek "Supreme First Cause."

The second essay is entitled "The First Heresies." The author is not disposed to let his religion draw him into any of the conflicts of science and philosophy. These latter he says are making the same bluffs to day as in the time of the apostles; but "The Simple faith is greater than the wisdom of men."

Perhaps the most interesting of these short essays is one entitled "The Passing of Darwinism." Here, as in all the rest, the author's mind takes the path of least resistance. He rejects Darwinism in toto. But he leaves some consolation, for he admits that "There are thousands of fairly intelligent people who still accept the Darwinian theories as established facts."

In his essay on the "The Debt of English Literature to the Bible" he is on easier ground. There is only one side to this question and of course Mr. Dunn is "orthodox." It is a neatly executed little volume of 178 pages, and is interesting in the fact that it reveals a type of mind not uncommon in the world's history.

Development of Banking in Illinois, 1817- 1863, is the title of Bulletin No. 12, vol. XI of the University of Illinois. It is a pamphlet of 180 pages by Dr. George William Dowrie assistant professor of Economics in the University of Michigan. The experience of Illinois in banking has been very similar to that of Indiana. A territorial bank was chartered and later broken by supporting doubtful commercial ventures. A State Bank was organized about the same time as that of Indiana. The State Bank failed partly by reason of trying to carry the State debt and partly by reason of falling into the hands of dishonest politicians. After the failure of the State Bank the State tried a system of free banking with customary disastrous results. Dr. Dowrie has held close to his subject and has given us a good biography of Illinois banks. The reader often wishes for a little more explanation or a little of the author's own opinion. An investigator usually has decided opinions born of the atmosphere of his researches. These opinions are valuable to the general reader. They are in the nature of expert knowledge and one has a right to expect them.

The Kentucky Register for May has a beautiful portrait of George Rogers Clark made from the painting by Jouett owned by Colonel Durrett of Louisville. It also contains an article by Mrs. Ella H. Ellwanger on the early history of Louisville.

The Missouri Historical Review for April has a "History of Fort Orleans, the first French post on the Mississippi," by M. F. Stipes. The other leading article is "Recollections of Thomas H. Benton," by L. T. Collier.

The Annals of Iowa for April has for its opening number a memoir of ex-senator William B. Allison, by Henry Cabot Lodge. Another interesting article in the same number is "Early Commercial Traveling in Iowa," by Frank M. Mills. Mr. Mills was a native of Indiana, emigrating to Des Moines with his wife and children in 1857. An account of Spirit Lake Massacre is the leading article in the July *Annals*, written by O. C. Howe.

The *Magazine of History* for January has an account of "Frontier Life in Iowa in the Forties", by Johnson Brigham which will be interesting reading to many Hoosiers.

The first number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, appeared in June on schedule time. An excellent review of the "Historical Activities in the Old Northwest and Eastern Canada," by Dr. Solon J. Buck of Illinois University is worth the price of the book. There are three other articles on more or less threadbare subjects. One-third of the magazine is taken up with elaborate book reviews, only a few of which have any connection with Mississippi Valley History.

The North Carolina Booklet for April has an account of Sherman's raid which would open the eyes of many of the old veterans of Indiana. It is written from memory by Professor J. T. Alderman. The writer evidently will never be reconciled to the glories of war. Of course Sherman's men had no business to go on a tramp of such length without taking their dinners with them, but it seems a little late now to be indulging in such criticism. I have not heard a survivor of Libby or Andersonville complain so bitterly as does Professor Alderman over the loss of a few chickens and ducks and possibly an old sow and pigs.

The Story of New Harmony for Children is the title of a charming little story of the settlement of this famous old town one hundred years ago by the Rappites. The story is told in simple concrete words by Caroline Cruse Pelham. In the sixteen small pages of this little pamphlet is a better picture of the old times than is found in the larger books on the subject. It would make an excellent reading lesson for second or third grade pupils.

Decisive Episodes in Western History is the title of an address delivered by Laenas G. Weld before the Iowa State Historical Society, Feb. 21, at Iowa City, and published by the society in pamphlet form. The speaker points out as the "Decisive Episodes" first the fight between Champlain and the Iroquois, July 30, 1609; the second the murder of LaSalle; third the building of Fort Chartres at Kaskaskia; fourth the battle of Great Meadows in which Washington attacked the French; fifth the conquest by George Rogers Clark; and last the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The Indiana Catholic of July 3, 1914 has a lengthy account of the settlement of Vincennes which it calls the "Cradle of the Faith." The substance of the article is taken from Cauthorne's *History of Vincennes*. There is no reference made by the writer to any authority hence one cannot tell how much history and how much fiction the article contains. Many of his statements have at least never been proven.

The Salem Democrat of July 1, 1914, has a short sketch of the scouts who patrolled the Indiana border during the War of 1812. These rangers had their headquarters at old Fort Vallonia and ranged the woods from the Whitewater to the Wabash and as far north as the Wabash at Logansport. Chief of these scouts were John Tipton and Joseph Bartholomew. Many thrilling border stories have come down from these times.

The Indianapolis News July 25, has an account of an election held in Terre Haute in the summer of 1851. The article by Chester De Brular is based on an account written by an English traveler named Beste who was in Terre Haute at the time. The principal contest at the time was on the ratification of the present State constitution. Mr. Beste thought the elections in America conducted better than in England.

The Indianapolis Sunday Star June 26, 1914 has an account of the R. C. Buley of Vincennes on the "Origin of the Republican Party." Mr. Buley points out the discouragement, misrepresentation, and prejudice which all new parties meet. They are usually denominated revolutionary. This is correct. A new political party is a modern revolution.

The Indianapolis Sunday Star June 26, 1914 has an article by "Battle of Monocacy" in which General Lew Wallace with a small force of veterans and raw recruits checked the advance of General Jubal Early with 20,000 men and perhaps saved Washington from capture. The account is by W. H. Smith, author of a two volume history of Indiana, and a great admirer of the author-general

The Goshen Democrat July 17, 1914, has a list of the postmasters who have officiated at Benton since the office was established. It was first called Elkhart Plain when opened January 19, 1830. John Jackson grandfather of the present postmaster, Dr. Haltzinger, being

the first appointee. Benton was on the old stage route from Fort Wayne to Michigan City. There have been twenty-one postmasters in the 84 years.

In the above paper for July 25, 1914, is a list of the New Paris postmasters during its seventy-four years of existence. This post-office was called Jackson from April 22, 1840 to September 16, 1852. It has had twenty-four postmasters.

The Indiana Catholic, July 17, 1914, has a biography of Reverent Lewis Guegen, the rector of St. Francis Xavier Cathedral of Vincennes. The venerable priest was past eighty, having been born at Fregoman Cotes du Nord Brittany. He came to Vincennes December 8, 1859. He served at Madison and Washington, Indiana, till 1860 when he was transferred to a charge in Floyd county. From 1864 to 1885 he was stationed at Loogootee. From 1885 to 1890 he served at Madison, since when he has been at Vincennes.

The *Crawfordsville Journal* July 17, 1914, has some reminiscences by Judge J. M. Cowan an early pioneer of Crawfordsville, now living in Springfield, Mo. He was born in Crawfordsville in 1821, and hence is now past ninety-three. He graduated from Wabash in 1842 and from Indiana in 1845. Indians were common in Crawfordsville in his boyhood days. He saw Lincoln often, and was a companion of Henry S. Lane. He was a grown man when the first railroad was built in the State. He is older than Indianapolis but it had about 1,500 inhabitants when he first saw it. His first ride was on a train to Indianapolis to hear Clay speak in 1844.

The *New Harmony Times* is printing as a serial, Mr. Taft's speech at the centennial celebration. It certainly roused some curious reflections in the spirit of the kind hearted socialistic Owen to hear his eulogy pronounced by men who have no sympathy whatever for socialism, who in fact one and all are champions of exactly what Owen spent his life fighting. One can imagine such a man as Jacob Riis, or Victor Berger getting enthusiastic in praise of Owen, but it is difficult to see how such speakers as were on the New Harmony list could kindle their souls to a glow at the shrine of Owen. One is tempted to remark that such ludicrous incompatibility is sacrilegious. However, it seems the principal purpose in these centennial celebrations is to attract a crowd, mere numbers.

The *Bloomington Journal* is running *The New Purchase* as a serial story. This is a novel written by Baynard R. Hall, first principal

of Indiana Seminary, sometime about 1836. Mr. Hall came to Bloomington in 1823. The scenes and characters in the novel are local to Bloomington and vicinity, though the author went as far afield as Vincennes, or Crawfordsville, and once to the Battleground. It is the best characterization of early Hoosier life in print.

The *Salem Democrat* has published a number of biographies of citizens of the place who have passed their eightieth birthday. One of the most interesting of these is in the issue of July 8. It is the biography of Mrs. William Standish, born January 19, 1828. Her memory is clear and her reminiscences make an interesting story of the growth of the community from a wilderness outpost frequented by Indians down to the present.

A New Constitution for Indiana is the subject of an address by Theo. F. Thieme of Fort Wayne. This has been published—Fort Wayne, June 1914—as a forty page pamphlet. The author gathers in small compass the arguments in favor of a new Constitution.

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for July contains among others, two articles by Jacob Vander Zee on "French Discovery and Exploration of the Eastern Iowa country before 1763" and "Fur Trade Operations in the Eastern Iowa Country under the Spanish Regime." Another article that has some direct interest for Indiana is "the Private Land Claims of the Old Northwest Territory" by Louis Pelzer.

The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly for July has a copy of an old "Prospectus for Ohio for 1775"; an article on Clement L. Vallandigham, by W. H. Van Fossan; a "History of Banking in Ohio" by P. W. Huntington; and "Beginnings of Lutheranism in Ohio" by Dr. B. F. Prince.

The *Princeton Clarion-News*, July 31, 1914, has an article by Col. Gil. R. Stormont on the "Political Campaigns in Gibson County Since the War." He discusses especially the elections of 1860, 1864 and 1866. Col. Stormont speaks from personal experience. One is especially struck with the change that has come about in the conduct of such campaigns. The personalities and bitternesses of politics as well as the corruption are disappearing.

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THE ACADEMIES OF INDIANA

By JOHN HARDIN THOMAS, A. M.,
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This is only a tentative study of the academies of the State. Superintendent Thomas has used all the materials available. The subject offers great difficulties on account of the nature of the source material. Every historian knows how dangerous it is to found a statement on traditional evidence. The subject, however, is one of wide and vital interest. The study is published not so much for its final value as for the purpose of arousing attention to the necessity of collecting the materials for the history of the Academies before it is too late. The editor will appreciate any material such as catalogues, advertisements, announcements, or reports concerning any Academy of the State. This study shows what a powerful influence they have been in the State's history. They cannot be neglected, especially in the history of our schools.—ED.

CHAPTER I. THE NON-SECTARIAN ACADEMIES

PRINCETON ACADEMY

In 1818, the General Assembly of Indiana passed an act, approved December 31, 1818, entitled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Religion and Learning." By it the Board of County Commissioners of Gibson county were given the power to appoint three fit persons of the county as trustees, under the name and style of "The Board of Trustees of the Princeton Academy." The county agent was given the power to convey to the board of trustees and to their successors, lot number one in the town of Princeton, to be used for "the building of houses of religious worship and semi-

naries of learning." Pursuant to this act, the county commissioners at their next meeting in May, 1819, appointed Alexander Devin, William Prince, and Robert Evans trustees "of the Princeton Academy."

In 1822, a new board of trustees was appointed, consisting of Alexander Devin, Robert Milburn, and Samuel Hall. The county agent, Robert Stockwell, was authorized by the commissioners to convey to the board of trustees, lot number one, as provided for in the Act of December 31, 1818.

The Princeton Academy never materialized. Lot number one had been deeded to Gibson county in 1818, by Robert Evans. The next board of trustees that met on May 5, 1826, acted under the law of the General Assembly providing for the establishment of Public Seminaries. The board consisted of five men instead of three, as provided under the Act of December 31, 1818, and out of this movement came the Princeton Seminary which was completed in 1829.¹

MADISON ACADEMY

Madison Academy was founded at Madison, January 11, 1820. Little can be ascertained now concerning its early history. The building was a three story brick and is now used by the high school. Professor Barnes taught in the academy from about 1858 to 1864.

The course of study was about the equivalent of our present high school course. The Academy was open to males only.

It was discontinued about 1864 or 1865.²

CAMBRIDGE ACADEMY

January 13, 1826, the General Assembly of Indiana passed an act authorizing the trustees, John Dawson, Andrew Ray and Samuel Goucher of Dearborn county, "to have, purchase, receive, possess, ——— lands, tenements, rents, ——— monies, and effect of any kind for the promotion of education and for the establishment of said Academy, with the style of the trustees of Cambridge Academy."

Nothing more could be found concerning this Academy and I conclude that it never materialized.³

¹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1818, 93, 355; 1819, 67; 1822, 113; 1824, 116; 1825, 96; *Annual Report of the Princeton Public Schools*, 1910, by Harold Barnes.

² Letter: Donald Du Shane, Superintendent of Schools, Madison, Ind.

³ *Indiana State Laws*, 1839, 94.

HANOVER ACADEMY

Hanover Academy was organized at Hanover, Jefferson county, January 1, 1827, by Rev. John Finley Crowe, D. D., grandfather of Dr. John M. Coulter, ex-president of Indiana University. It was incorporated January 6, 1829, by John Finley Crowe, James H. Johnson, Williamson Dunn, George Logan, John M. Dickey, Samuel Smock, William Reed, Samuel Gregg, and Jeremiah Sullivan.

The founding of the Academy was but a preliminary step to the founding of Hanover College. On January 1, 1833, the articles of incorporation of the Academy were surrendered and the College was incorporated. In 1843 the charter for Hanover College was surrendered to the Legislature in return for a charter for the University of Madison, and the Academy was again chartered as a separate institution. Within a year, however, the charters for the Madison University and Hanover Academy were both surrendered and Hanover College was rechartered.

From 1843, legally speaking, there has been no Hanover Academy, but the College has maintained a preparatory department, accredited by the State Board of Education as the equivalent of a commissioned high school.

The Academy never owned any property, nor occupied a building exclusively, nor has it ever had the exclusive use of any library or laboratory.

The board of trustees of the College, at their last meeting in June 1913, ordered that the preparatory department be abandoned at the end of the academic year.⁴

JENNINGS ACADEMY

The Jennings Academy was located at Vernon, Jennings county, Indiana. It was organized about 1828 by Dr. E. F. Peabody, Dr. Burt, Rev. Daniel Lattimore, W. A. Bullock, Alanson Andrews, and Rev. J. B. New. The first building erected was a two story brick with two rooms and an outside stairway. This was known as the Old Seminary. It was abandoned in 1859 and has since been used as a residence.

In 1859 the present two story four room brick was built, and the name was changed to the Jennings Academy.

Some of the teachers of the Old Seminary were Miss Elizabeth Leiper, 1828; Prof. Beck, Prof. William Butler, and Prof.

⁴ Letter: Pres. W. A. Millis, Hanover College; Edson, *Presbyterianism in Indiana*.

A. G. Dunning and wife, during the period from 1845 to 1852; and Prof. Frank Martin and Rev. Farris. The attendance was about ninety. Two of the students of this period still living and worthy of note are Capt. Wallace Foster, "The Flag Man," of Indianapolis, and Mrs. Mary A. Leavitt, of Indianapolis, daughter of Dr. E. F. Peabody.

Due to the teachings of Prof. Dunning and wife, Vernon became noted as a literary center and was poetically called "The Classic Shades." The Seminary was co-educational. The course of study included reading, grammar, geography, arithmetic, algebra, philosophy, chemistry, rhetoric, astronomy, Latin, and German. Some of the old text-books were Butler's Grammar, Davis's Arithmetic, and Blair's Rhetoric.

Mr. O. Phelps was the first principal of the Academy in 1859. He was followed in 1869 by C. W. Inyersts and W. H. Venable, in 1861, of the Southwestern Normal School of Lebanon, Ohio. He was assisted by Miss E. J. Collins. The attendance was about one hundred and thirty. The course of study included algebra, geometry, chemistry, Latin, French, elocution, spelling, and daily lessons in Spencerian penmanship. Vocal music was taught twice per week. The school was governed by the "self reporting system."

M. V. Van Arsdale was principal in 1863-64, with Miss E. J. Collins and Miss Vawter assistants. The Academy was organized into three departments. The Higher Department included courses in Latin and Greek; Greek, Roman, and modern history; classical and sacred geography; logic, rhetoric, composition, and elocution; chemistry and botany; surveying and navigation; higher arithmetic and algebra; and the constitution of the United States. The tuition was \$7.00 for twelve weeks. The Intermediate Department included courses in English grammar, intellectual and written arithmetic, geography, writing, reading, composition, elocution, and the constitution of the United States. The tuition was \$3.00 for twelve weeks. The Lower Department included courses in primary grammar, arithmetic (Ray's first and second books), first principles of penmanship, reading, to the fourth reader, and orthography. Tuition, \$2.50 for twelve weeks. Each pupil was also taxed to pay fuel expenses.

The Academy was co-educational. It continued until the common schools were organized about 1870, and from that time the building has been used by the Vernon Public Schools.⁵

* Letters: Wallace Foster, Indianapolis, and Supt. L. A. Jackson, Vernon. *Indiana School Journal*, 1859, p. 59, and 1861, p. 373.

EUGENE ACADEMY

The Eugene Academy was incorporated December 23, 1829, by Samuel Baldrige, John M. Coleman, James Groenendyke, William Clark, Josephus Collett, Stephen S. Collett, John R. Porter, Richard Taylor, and Asaph Hill. It was styled the Eugene Academy and was given the usual powers of corporations of its kind.

No other information could be ascertained concerning this Academy so I do not know whether it ever materialized or not. I presume that it was located, if at all, at Eugene, Vermillion county.⁶

THE RED BRICK ACADEMY

In the early 20's the Friends of Richmond built a brick meetinghouse on the grounds called the Public Square. The lot contained about one acre and was situated between Fourth and Fifth streets on south B street, where the Finley school now stands. This ground had been previously given to the city by John Smith. In 1823 or 1824, after the building had been completed, the city desiring the use of the building, bought it of the Friends for what it had cost them to build it. This was known as the "Red Brick School House." Since it was later used for an Academy I have chosen here to call it The Red Brick Academy to distinguish it from the other schools and academies of Richmond.

The first school was taught in the building about 1834, by Mr. E. H. Buckley. In 1835, William M. Gorkin, A. B., of Jefferson College, opened an Academy in it for both sexes. In 1839, J. Arnold taught in this building. In 1848, William W. Austin opened school in it. In 1850-51, Milton Hollingsworth, assisted by Phoebe Crawford and Daniel Clark, taught a term. Since that time the building has been used by the public schools.⁷

VINCENNES ACADEMY

The Vincennes Academy was incorporated January 23, 1836. The act of incorporation provided for a board of commissioners consisting of John Scott, Joseph Somes, Samuel Wise, William Burtch, John C. Clark, and Abner T. Ellis, with power to open the books and receive subscriptions. The Academy was to be styled the Vincennes Academy, and had the power to hold personal and real property to

⁶ *Laws of Indiana, 1829.*

⁷ Elsie Marshall: *History of the Richmond Schools*, Report of Public Schools of Richmond, 1912. Letter, do.

the extent of \$10,000 in value. The capital stock was to consist of \$10,000, divided into shares of \$10.00 each. It also provided for instruction in any of the languages, sciences, fine arts, general literature, and any other branches or departments that the trustees might authorize. Also for the establishment of a female department at the discretion of the trustees.

No further trace of the Vincennes Academy could be found. It probably gave way to the Knox County Seminary and never materialized.⁸

THE POE ACADEMY

The Poe Academy was located at Richmond. It existed only for a short time and was perhaps never widely known by this name. I have here designated it by this name to distinguish it from the other Academies of Richmond.

In 1838 or 1839 James M. Poe, afterwards an influential citizen of Richmond, opened an Academy in the basement of the Pearl Street Methodist church. He was assisted by E. A. Bishop, A. B., of Oxford, Ohio, and by Elizabeth Rogers. The Academy was conducted for about ten years, when it probably died for lack of support.⁹

DUBLIN ACADEMY

The Dublin Academy was incorporated February 18, 1839. The trustees named in the act of incorporation are Jehosephat Morris, Jonathan Huddelston, Pleasant Johnson, Anselm Butler, and Caleb W. Hill, of Wayne county.

The corporation was styled the Dublin Academy. It was given powers to hold real and personal property. The capital stock was not to exceed \$25,000, and was to be divided into shares of \$25.00 each. It also had power to provide instructors in any of the languages, sciences, fine arts, general literature, etc.

Nothing more could be ascertained of this Academy and that is as far, probably, as it ever materialized.¹⁰

⁸ *Laws of Indiana, 1836*; also letter: Pres. Horace Ellis, Vincennes University.

⁹ *Elsie Marshall: History of the Richmond Schools, Report of the Public Schools of Richmond, 1912.*

¹⁰ *Laws of Indiana, 1839, p. 96.*

MARTINSVILLE FEMALE ACADEMY

For several years the Morgan County Seminary, which opened in 1839, was the center of learning not only for the county seat of Martinsville, but for the whole county. Many of the higher branches of learning were taught, and for those days it gave a thorough preparation for College. During the 40's, however, the Seminary began to decline and was attended by students only from Martinsville and the surrounding district.

In 1853 the Seminary was sold, in pursuance of the law of 1852, and after that numerous private subscription schools sprang up to meet the demand for higher education. Among these private schools was the Martinsville Female Academy, which was founded by M. L. Johnson in 1855, in the rooms over Mr. Creary's store.

The Academy prospered for a number of years, but for lack of proper support the ideals of the founder were never realized and it died out probably about 1860.¹¹

CRAWFORDSVILLE FEMALE ACADEMY

The Crawfordsville Female Academy was incorporated February 24, 1840, by Israel T. Canby, John Hawkins, James Thompson, James Hannah, Moses Humphreys, John Beard, and Francis H. Fry.

It was given the usual powers granted to such corporations, including the right to hold real and personal property.

I do not know whether this Academy ever materialized or not, but I am of the opinion that it did not as there was a Female Seminary at Crawfordsville in 1855, and in all probability it took the place of the Academy.¹²

THE WARNER ACADEMY

The Warner Academy was located at Richmond. I have here given it this name because it was opened in the "Warner Building," which stood where the City building now stands on North Fifth street.

On the death of Dr. Ithmar Warner, in March 1835, this property was willed by him to the city, the income from which was to be devoted to the education of poor children. The will was contested

¹¹ *History of Morgan, Monroe and Brown Counties*, p. 97.

¹² *Laws of Indiana*, 1839; also letter of Otis M. Hall, County Superintendent Montgomery County, Crawfordsville.

by his relatives and the city compromised the case by paying them \$800 for the property. The building was used for many years for city offices and for school purposes. On account of the provision of the will the city still pays \$250 per year rent to the school board for the ground on which the City building stands.

Miss Mary Thorpe, a well educated woman of Washington, D. C., taught here in about 1836. She was a successful teacher. In 1839, George S. Rea and Edward W. Kennedy taught in this building. In 1840, Rawson Vaile and his wife opened, in the Warner Building, a high school or Academy, which ran for two years. Professor Vaile was a graduate of Amherst College and was a very successful teacher. J. Arnold taught there after 1839, and after 1850 the building was used for public school purposes.¹³

SPRING CREEK ACADEMY

The Spring Creek Academy was located about three miles southwest of Springville, Lawrence county. It was incorporated February 9, 1843, by John L. Short, Ari Armstrong, and C. W. Short.

The Academy was a one room building which stood within about a half-mile of the mouth of Spring Creek, in the valley of Indian Creek, on what is now the Armstrong Brothers farm. It had no windows on the side next to the road.

The names of the only teachers that could be found were Robert Armstrong and Doddridge Short. The attendance was about fifty pupils.

The course of study included the common branches, and at one time some of the higher branches were taught. The school was co-educational. It began at 8 a. m. and closed at 5 p. m.

This Academy continued for about fifteen years. The building has long ago been destroyed.¹⁴

TIPPECANOE ACADEMY

The Tippecanoe Academy was incorporated February 9, 1843. The trustees named in the act of incorporation are George W. Stacey, Pleasant Grubb, William G. Tevault, James Hall, and Albert Bass. The Academy was to be styled the Tippecanoe Academy. The trustees were given the usual powers given to such corpora-

¹³ Elsie Marshall, *History of Richmond Schools*, Report of Public Schools of Richmond, 1912.

¹⁴ *Laws of Indiana*, 1843, p. 35; also Letter of Supt. L. B. Sanders, Mitchell, Ind., with data by Quincy Short, Springville.

tions, including the power to hold property. The first meeting of the trustees was to be held in the town of Monoquet, Kosciusko county.

It could not be ascertained whether this Academy ever materialized or not. Superintendent Edson B. Sarber, of Warsaw, and Charles Thomas, trustee of the township in which Monoquet is located, both made diligent inquiry concerning it but could find no trace of it. They did find, however, parties there who remembered the trustees of the Academy.¹⁵

ASSOCIATE ACADEMY OF CROWN POINT

In July, 1847, Rev. William Townley, A. M., opened a high school in a room of his dwelling and advertised the following academic course of study: First Grade, orthography, reading, writing, and arithmetic, \$2.50; Second Grade, geography, English, grammar, natural philosophy and chemistry, \$3.00; Third Grade, algebra, geometry, surveying, and Latin, \$3.50.

This school continued until September, 1855, when an educational association was formed for the purpose of raising not less than \$500 for building a school-house. The stock was divided into shares of \$25 each, one-half to be paid in cash and the balance in sixty days after October 1, 1855. The following subscriptions were made: E. M. Cramer, \$50; W. A. Clark, \$100; Frederick Foster, \$50; Harvey Pettibone, \$100; Thomas Clark, \$100; R. A. Eddy, \$25; C. M. Mason, \$50; R. M. Pratt, \$25; William Townley, \$100; Henry Wells, \$100, and David Turner, \$100; total \$800.

A good substantial frame building was erected and was called the "Associate Academy of Crown Point." Rev. Townley continued for a time as principal and the Academy was a success, but soon the entire enterprise collapsed and the building was sold to Luther & Holton who transformed it into a store room.¹⁶

FAIRVIEW ACADEMY

The Fairview Academy was located near Fairview, Rush county. It was incorporated February 16, 1848, by John W. Shawhan, G. B. Rush, William H. Beck, John V. Lindsey, George Campbell, Garrett Wykoff, David H. Drummond, Ephraim Jeffrey, and James Hannah. By the articles of incorporation the trustees were given the authority to hold real property, not to exceed \$5,000 in value,

¹⁵ *Laws of Indiana*, 1843, p. 55; also Letter of Supt. Edson B. Sarber, Warsaw, Ind.

¹⁶ *History of Porter and Lake Counties*, 492-3.

to appoint teachers, to found an institution of learning, and to confer degrees upon its graduates.

Pursuant to the act of 1848, W. W. Thrasher and Henry R. Prichard canvassed the community and enlisted the support of the most influential citizens. William Shawhan donated four acres of ground for the site, and the necessary funds for building were soon raised. The building was finished in the fall of 1849.

By chance, in the spring of 1849, Mr. A. R. Benton, who had just received his Master of Arts Degree from Bethany College, West Virginia, was visiting relatives in the neighborhood of Fairview, and was employed as the first principal of the Academy. It was first opened in the office of Dr. Ephriam Clifford before the Academy building was completed.

The course of study was similar to that of the best Academies of the State, and was perhaps the equal of any school in the West. Students from several States came to it and its fame spread far and wide.

Professor Benton severed his connections with the Academy in 1854, to accept a position as teacher of Foreign Languages in Northwestern Christian University, at Indianapolis, and the history of the Academy closes with this date. Nothing could be ascertained concerning the number of teachers, the number of pupils or the equipment.¹⁷

PRINCETON FEMALE ACADEMY

The Princeton Female Academy was incorporated February 16, 1848, by Samuel Hall, Alexander Devin, and James Boswell, trustees. It appears that the movement originated in 1838, when the Methodist church was built and the basement was fitted up for a female Academy. By the act of 1848, all deeds, grants, conveyances, etc., made to the board of trustees prior to that time, were by that act to be as good and effectual in law as if the trustees had been an incorporated body, and "all acts of Samuel Hall, Robert Stockwell, and William Daniel as trustees of the Academy since November 1, 1839, were to be as good and effectual in law as if the Academy had been incorporated, and they had been duly appointed as trustees thereof."

The first school in the M. E. church basement was taught by Mrs. Fanny Eagar in 1838-39. A complete list of the teachers

¹⁷ *Laws of Indiana*, 1848, p. 562; also *Rushville Republican*, Jan. 2, 1914, "The Obituary of A. R. Benton."

could not be found but the Misses Walling probably taught there in the early and middle 40's, and Mr. Julius Jury and wife, of Evansville, in 1847-48.

On December 4, 1849, Miss T. H. Smith began a session of eleven weeks, which was called the "Female College."

On January 15, 1850, the Princeton Female College was incorporated by the Indiana Conference of the M. E. church, with the following trustees: John Kiger, Samuel Rell, Elisha Embree, Robert Stockwell, Andrew Lewis, Alfred Poland, James Boswell, T. A. Goodwin, F. A. Hester, J. R. Jones, C. C. Graham, John McIntire, William J. Lonery, John Shrader, and John R. Hugo. A peculiar provision in the charter provided for a public examination to be held annually just before commencement, to which the patrons and trustees should be invited, "to show the fidelity of the teachers and the diligence of the scholars." The College ran about three years.

On the first Monday in March, 1853, John Orr., A.M., and his wife organized the Princeton Female Institute, which was held in the M. E. church basement. There were three departments: Primary, Academic, and Collegiate. The Collegiate Department was virtually a miniature College. Its courses included algebra, geometry, trigonometry, mensuration, botany, chemistry, geology, astronomy, natural philosophy, ancient and modern history, political economy, moral and intellectual philosophy, natural history, evidences of Christianity, and weekly exercises in composition. This lasted until 1854. On July 5, 1854, Miss R. P. Burr opened a "Female School" in the basement of the church which ran one year. In 1854 the Seminary was opened to females again and the church basement was abandoned for school purposes.

In April, 1835, a female high school was organized by Henry T. Morton, and in the spring of 1856 the Academy was completed. It was located on the east side of West street, between Emerson and Chestnut streets, a little north of the middle of the block. It was a two-story frame building with five rooms. An outside stairway with two landings led to the second floor at the end of the building. The Academy was seated with Boston school chairs and desks. The chairs were made of maple and white-wood and were varnished. The desks were made of walnut and cherry. It was heated by means of a Resor's Globe Furnace, and was ventilated by Emerson's Ventilating Apparatus. In school equipment it was provided with maps, globes, chemicals and physical apparatus, a geological cabinet, containing several thousand specimens belonging to the princi-

pal, and a library. The building and equipment were the best that could be found in Indiana. The original plan included a gymnasium, to be located near the Academy, but it was never built.

At first the building was called the "New Seminary," and next the "Girls High School Seminary." On September 1, 1856, it was opened to both males and females, and after that the school was called the "Male and Female Academy" and the building was known as the "Academy."

The school year was divided into two sessions of twenty-one weeks each. The first session began about September 1st, the second about February 1st. There were three departments: the Primary, the Academic, and the Normal. An old catalogue of 1857 gives the following courses of study:

PRIMARY DEPARTMENT

First Class

Spelling, Reading, Writing, Primary Geography, slate exercises in Arithmetic, and Mental Arithmetic.

Second Class

Spelling, Reading, Writing, Intermediate Geography, Written Arithmetic, History, Grammar, Mental Arithmetic, Watts on the mind, slate exercise in Composition, Drawing, Singing, First Lessons in Natural History, Natural Philosophy, and Physiology.

ACADEMICAL DEPARTMENT

First Year

Winter Session—
Grammar (English)
Arithmetic
Biblical Antiquities
Rhetoric (Elementary)

Summer Session—
Arithmetic (completed)
Rhetoric (completed)
Church History
Physiology

Second Year

Winter Session—
Algebra
Ancient History
Meteorology
Natural History

Summer Session—
Algebra (continued)
Modern History
Chemistry
Physical Geography

Third Year

Winter Session—
Algebra (completed)
Geometry
Chemistry (completed)
Geology

Summer Session—
Geometry (completed)
Mental Philosophy
Natural Philosophy
Science of Government

Fourth Year

Winter Session—	Summer Session—
Natural Philosophy (completed)	Logic
Rhetoric	Evidences of Christianity
Astronomy	Biblical Literature
Moral Philosophy	Botany

Exercises in Reading, Writing, Composition, Geography, Grammar, Mental Arithmetic, and the study of the Bible were continued through the whole course. French, German, Latin, and Greek were offered as electives.

The tuition per session of twenty-one weeks was as follows: Primary Department: first class, \$7.50; second class, \$10.00. Academical Department: first and second classes, \$16.00; third and fourth classes, \$20.00. Extra: music on piano, \$20.00; use of instrument, \$20.00; painting and drawing, \$10.00; embroidery, \$6.00. Board, light, and fuel per term, average, \$50.00.

The Normal Department was for the training of teachers, and a model school was conducted for the primary teachers.

In 1857 H. F. Morton was principal of the Academy and had six assistants: Mrs. Mary M. Morton, Miss Matilda E. Ellingwood, Miss Hattie W. French, Miss Martha S. Paxton, Miss Eliza M. Paxton, and Mrs. M. W. Paxton, who was the special teacher of music. The total attendance for 1856-57 was one hundred and forty-three.

On October 15, 1858, Mr. Morton sold the Academy to Messrs. Henderson & Brown. The school year was then divided into three sessions of fourteen weeks each, beginning in September. Book-keeping was added to the course of study.

On November 12, 1859, the Academy was sold to Brown and Sturges and continued under this management until the end of the spring session in 1860, when it was forced to close for lack of attendance and support.

On February 24, 1862, a three months term was begun. During this term it was called the "Morton School House."

On August 31, 1863, the Academy was sold to Wm. Kurtz, acting for the school trustees, and it became a part of the public school property. It was used for a part of the intermediate and primary departments until the Irving School Building was completed in January, 1871. In 1870 the Academy was sold to Seth Ward, of Princeton, who remodelled it and fitted it up for a residence. It is still standing on the same site where it was erected in 1856.¹⁸

¹⁸ *Laws of Indiana*, 1848, p. 194; also Annual Report of Princeton Public Schools by Harold Barnes.

VERMILLION ACADEMY

The Vermillion Academy was incorporated February 16, 1848. The trustees named in the act of incorporation are William B. Hall, Charles S. Little, and Thomas C. Sale. It was styled the Vermillion Academy and was given the usual powers of corporations of its kind.

Nothing more could be ascertained concerning this Academy. Not even the location could be found, yet I presume that it was somewhere in Vermillion county.¹⁹

KNIGHTSTOWN ACADEMY

The Knightstown Academy was located at Knightstown, Henry county. It was organized in 1848 by Dr. Terrell, M. F. Edwards, and Rev. J. Dale.

The old building was a frame structure, 30x50 feet, had one door, six windows, a small lobby at the entrance, and a cupola. A Mr. McClure, who died in 1853, willed the Academy a library of about eight hundred volumes.

The first teachers of the Academy were Miss Peas and Miss Bobbitt, both from New England. They were succeeded by Mr. McClure and Fannie Langdon.

The Academy was for females only. The course of study was rather irregular. There was no prescribed course other than the English branches, but philosophy, history, botany, Latin, and French were offered as electives. Some of the text-books used were *McGuffey's Readers*, *Ray's Arithmetic*, *Kirkham's Grammar*, *Webster's Speller*, and *Mitchell's Geography*.

The Academy continued only five years. It was supplanted by the common schools in 1853 or '54. Since then the building has been used as a residence.²⁰

HADLEY ACADEMY

The Hadley Academy was located at Richmond. It was organized by Hiram Hadley in 1865, and opened in the "Hicksite School House," which he had purchased of the Friends. It was opened at the solicitation of the Friends who had known of the success of Professor Hadley in the Whitewater Academy from

¹⁹ *Laws of Indiana*, 1848, p. 390.

²⁰ Letter of Supt. Roy C. Keever, Knightstown, with data from an old citizen of Knightstown.

1856-1863. He was assisted by Miss Eliza B. Fulghum and Miss Abbie S. Fuller, graduates of the Westfield Normal School of Massachusetts, and Miss Helen Davis, a graduate of the Oswego Training School.

Professor Hadley was succeeded by Professor Cyrus W. Hodgkin, who taught one year then resigned to take a position as principal of the high school. Miss Fulghum acted as principal for one year, then the Academy closed.²¹

FARMERS ACADEMY

The Farmers Academy was located about five miles south of Frankfort, Clinton county. It was founded by Newton S. Harriman and Milton B. Hopkins in 1858. A building 30x40 feet was built out of hewed logs on a beautiful wooded lot with blue grass lawn and a pretty stream of water. It was furnished with community desks and seats made especially for the Academy. The lot and building were donated by Mr. Harriman. The library was the private property of Mr. Hopkins.

Mr. Hopkins was principal from 1858 to 1862. His two sons, Alex C. Hopkins and John O. Hopkins assisted in conducting the school on Mondays, until Mr. Hopkins returned from his Sunday's preaching tour. Mr. Hopkins was both the educational and spiritual leader of the community. He was succeeded by U. B. McKinney as principal from 1862-64, and by J. O. Cutte from 1864-65. Mr. Harriman died about this time and the school was closed for lack of support, and was used for several years by the public schools.

The course of study embraced the common branches, some Latin, algebra, and jurisprudence. There were usually about one hundred pupils in attendance, ranging from the beginners in the primary grades to full-grown men. The Academy was co-educational.²²

ROME ACADEMY

The Rome Academy was located at Rome, Perry county. In 1859 the county seat was removed from Rome to Cannelton and the legislature, by act approved December 22, 1858, transferred the old

²¹ Elsie Marshall, *History of Richmond Schools*, in Report of Public Schools of Richmond, 1912.

²² *Documentary Journal*, 1875, p. 153; also letter and data, Mrs. Elizabeth Harriman, Palo Alto, Cal., widow of Newton S. Harriman; letter and data, J. J. Hopkins, Parsons, Kan., youngest son of Milton B. Hopkins; letter of Mrs. Jennie Youngblood, Evanston, Ill., daughter of Milton B. Hopkins.

courthouse, a two-story brick building, to the town of Rome, to be used for school purposes. A board of trustees was appointed, consisting of John C. Shoemaker, Job Hatfield, and Elijah Huckaby, and \$2,000 was subscribed by the citizens, the interest on which should be expended for repairs and equipment for the Academy.

The first term was opened October, 1860, with N. V. Evans, A. M., principal, and C. W. DeBruler assistant. The course of study was as follows: Primary grade, orthography, reading, writing, mental arithmetic, and primary geography; tuition, \$6.00 per term. Second grade, arithmetic, grammar, ancient and modern history, geography, analysis, and elocution; tuition, \$8.00 per term. Third grade, natural and mental philosophy, hygiene, bookkeeping, algebra, and geology, tuition, \$12.00 per term. Fourth grade, higher mathematics, chemistry, rhetoric, composition, and languages, tuition, \$18.00 per term. Music and use of piano, \$20.00; use of piano, \$4.00; vocal music, \$2.00; drawing and painting, \$3.00. The school term was forty weeks. The first term opened with about forty students, which was increased to about sixty.

Professor Evans was succeeded in 1861 by Rev. Wm. M. Daily, A. M., formerly president of Indiana University. He was succeeded in 1862 by Rev. Will S. Hooper, assisted by his sister, Miss Susan Hooper. The attendance increased to ninety students.

In 1863 Professor James Snow and Miss Flint took charge of the Academy and taught one year. The work was not a success financially and at the close of the year the rent on the building and the interest on the endowment fund had to be added to the tuition to make up the teachers' salaries.

In 1864 the trustees leased the property to the Episcopal church. A Mr. Rafter was appointed principal, and the name of the Academy was changed to St. Albans Academy. This management failed the first year. The Baptists next tried it by putting Rev. I. W. Brunner in charge as principal. They failed after two years and turned the Academy over again to the trustees. After this the building was used as a public hall, as a township school, and as a private school by various teachers. So much of the \$2,000 had been used for repairs and mismanagement that in about 1901, when the walls of the building needed extensive repairs, the trustees offered to deed the property and the remainder of the endowment fund to the township. The offer was accepted by J. H. Lee, trustee of Tobin township, and in 1902, after a special act of the legislature, the property was transferred to Tobin township. For a time:

afterward it was used as a district school. Since 1910 it has been a certified high school.²³

OXFORD ACADEMY

The Oxford Academy was located at Oxford, Benton county. The funds for the Academy were raised by private subscriptions. The first board of directors elected March 15, 1866, consisted of Leroy Templeton, Theophilus Stembel, Isaac Lewis, Robert M. Atkinson, Jasper N. McConnell, and Samuel Phares. Leroy Templeton was elected president, D. R. Lucas, secretary, and J. J. Rawlings, treasurer. The capital stock was fixed at 500 shares of \$20 each.

W. J. Templeton furnished the site for the building, and on May 17, 1866, the contract was let to Isaac Lewis for its construction for \$6,480. A two-story brick building was erected and the Academy was opened September 13, 1867. Dr. Lynn, pastor of the Oxford Presbyterian church, was the first principal. The attendance was about seventy. Dr. Lynn was a rigid disciplinarian, became very unpopular, and after about five months he was succeeded by Dr. A. W. Wells, who remained until 1870, when he was succeeded by Rev. H. C. Neil, pastor of the Oxford M. E. church. Rev. Neil was succeeded by Miss Hannah M. Wright, but authorities differ as to the time. The *History of Benton, Warren, Jasper and Newton Counties*, p. 287, gives Rev. Neil's term 1870-73, while McKnight, *Progress of Education in Benton County*, p. 134, makes Miss Wright's term 1871-75. There are other discrepancies between the two accounts as to the term of Miss Wright.

Hannah M. Wright was a native of New Jersey, and a graduate of the Collegiate Institute of Highlands, New Jersey. For three years prior to 1871 she had taught in the district schools of Benton county and was therefore acquainted with a number of people there. She rented the Academy Building for one year at \$100, and opened her first term, April 3, 1871, with sixty students. Miss Hattie Morgan and Miss Eliza Anderson were assistants. The course of study included the common branches, algebra, geometry, geology, chemistry, surveying, rhetoric, literature, and Latin. The fall term of 1871 opened with one hundred and eighty-eight students and soon increased to two hundred and twenty-five. The tuition was from \$3.00 to \$10.00 per term of three months. The public

²³ *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, p. 716; also letter and data, S. S. Connor, Rome, Ind.

schools opened at this time and many withdrew from the Academy. This lessened the income but the expenses remained the same, and at the close of the term Miss Wright found that she had lost \$225.00. This did not discourage her for she opened the term of 1872 with an increase in the teaching force. Miss Sarah J. Bugbee was employed as a regular teacher and Mrs. A. R. Owens as a teacher of music. On account of the superior advantages afforded by the Academy, Mr. John Crosson, township trustee, transferred all the pupils of that neighborhood to the Academy. He paid Miss Wright \$75.00 a month, and the other teachers, except the music teacher, \$40.00 a month, for the three months, and also paid the other running expenses.

The entrance of the public school pupils of all ages, sizes, and stages of advancement, precipitated at once a problem of classification and gradation. Many of the older boys objected to pursuing the course of study as prescribed, especially English grammar, but Miss Wright's will prevailed and the Academy became a model school for the county.

In 1873 Oxford was organized as a separate school corporation, and the school board contracted with Miss Wright for the year 1873-74. Under this contract she furnished the building and teachers and received \$710.00 for her year's work.

The public schools were organized in 1874, and Miss Hannah M. Wright, Sarah J. Bugbee, E. H. Hazlett, and Thomas A. Baldwin were employed as teachers. The Academy building was rented by the board for \$250.00. The stockholders desired to donate the building for the use of the town school but the institution was in debt. The association was incorporated with Robert M. Atkinson, president, and Jasper N. McConnell, secretary. On January 22, 1880, the board of trustees of the Academy borrowed \$2,000 of the Oxford school board and gave a note payable in one year from date. The note was not paid when due and action was brought against the trustees of the Academy, and as a result it was sold in May, 1882, to the Oxford school board.

The Academy building is still standing. The town of Oxford has built two additions to it and it is now called the Oxford School.²⁴

²⁴ *History of Benton, Warren, Jasper and Newton Counties*, p. 287; McKnight, *Progress of Education in Benton County*, p. 134.

MARENGO ACADEMY

The Marengo Academy was located at Marengo, Crawford county. It was organized in March, 1869, by Rev. J. M. Johnson, A.M., of the class of 1851, Indiana University.

The Academy was a two-story frame building 40x50 feet. On the first floor there were an ante-room and a chapel, 40x40 feet. On the second floor there were an ante-room, two recitation rooms on the east side, and one on the west. It contained a library of a few hundred volumes and a number of globes for teaching geography.

Professor Johnson, assisted by various teachers, had charge of the Academy from 1869 to 1902, a period of thirty-three years. During this period more than a thousand young men and women went out from the Academy and are today scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, and are engaged in about all of the walks of life. The moral and spiritual uplift to those students whose lives were moulded by this pioneer preacher-teacher can not be estimated.

The course of study included the common branches, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, surveying, German, Latin, and Greek. In Latin and Greek, Harkness was used as a text.

The school term was thirteen weeks in length. School began at 8:30 a. m. and closed at 4:00 p. m.

After Rev. Johnson quit the Academy J. R. Weathers taught for a few years, and he was followed by a number of other teachers who taught for a few each, then the Academy was torn down.²⁵

CULVER MILITARY ACADEMY

The Culver Military Academy is located on the northern shore of Lake Maxinkuckee, in Marshall county. It was founded in 1894 by Mr. Henry Harrison Culver, a wealthy philanthropist of St. Louis, whose ambition was to build the greatest preparatory school in America. Mr. Culver died in 1897, before he had completed his work, but the members of his family have given the school most liberal support in order that it might stand as a monument to its founder.

The Academy is beautifully situated in a park containing forty acres, thickly covered with maples, oaks, and beeches and free from undergrowth. The campus and grounds contain over three hun-

²⁵ Letter and data by Rev. J. M. Johnson, Marengo, Ind.; also letter and data by Supt. C. R. Maxam, Marengo, Ind.

dred acres, including parade grounds, athletic field, tennis courts, and cinder track. There is also a half-mile track for cavalry drill. Ten flowing wells, strong in medicinal properties, furnish an abundance of good water.

The building in which the cadets are quartered consists of five large fire-proof barracks, with accommodations for four hundred and fifty boys. There are twenty-six large, well-ventilated, well-lighted class rooms and lecture rooms, fully equipped chemical, physical, and biological laboratories, drafting rooms, and a library and reading room containing over 5,000 volumes.

The main hall of the gymnasium is 70x140 feet. The roof is supported by steel trusses which makes possible a large floor space unbroken by pillars or posts. It is provided with the most modern equipment.

The riding hall is a handsome building of brick and steel with a clear floor space of over a quarter of an acre.

The mess hall is the most complete and beautiful of its kind in the country. In connection with it is a model kitchen, which is said to be one of the most completely equipped in the world.

The Academy hospital is a fire-proof structure fully equipped with the latest sanitary appliances. An administration building is being erected which will add greatly to the Academy.

The Academy provides a one-year preparatory course, a four-year classical course, a four-year scientific course, a four-year English and business course, and courses in vocal and instrumental music. In addition to these courses a thorough course in physical and military science is made an especial feature.

The Academy is annually inspected by an officer of the general staff sent from the War Department at Washington.²⁶

CHAPTER II—THE PRESBYTERIAN ACADEMIES

DELANEY ACADEMY

The Delaney Academy was located at Newburgh, Warrick county. It was organized in 1842 by the Indiana Presbytery, through the influence of Rev. Benjamin Hall and others.

On February 2, 1843, it was incorporated by Joseph Neely, A. M. Phelps, T. B. McCormick, James C. Ritchey, David Newby, Benjamin Hall, and John Sawyer. By its charter it had the right

²⁶ *Illustrated Catalog of the Culver Military Academy, 1913.*

to hold lands, not to exceed one hundred and sixty acres, exclusive of building sites, and personal property, not to exceed \$25,000, exclusive of library and necessary apparatus. The Academy was to be conducted upon Christian principles, but no student was to be compelled to study theology or to adhere to any particular denomination.

The buildings, grounds, and library and apparatus were the gift of A. M. Phelps. Prior to its incorporation the school had been known as the Newburgh Cumberland Presbyterian Academy, but was incorporated under the name of the Delaney Academy in honor of Rev. Henry F. Delaney, an eminent minister of Morganfield, who preached in various places in southern Indiana.

At first, the academy was conducted in a frame building with two rooms and a basement. The building was also used for a church by the different denominations, and was furnished with seats, desks, a pulpit, and a bell. Two teachers were employed. The basement served as a recitation room, a library, and as a laboratory for the philosophical apparatus.

In 1853, the academy was moved to the basement of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, where it remained for four years. In 1857, a two-story brick building was erected and furnished by Mr. Phelps and others, upon a beautiful site overlooking the Ohio River. A number of valuable lots were also donated by Mr. Phelps for the support of the academy.

Rev. R. Ewing was the first principal. The following year he was succeeded by Rev. Calvin Butler, a Congregational preacher from Boonville, and a native of New England. Rev. Azel Freeman, D. D., served as principal at different times and was connected with the academy longer than any other teacher.

The order and dates at which these men taught could not be definitely determined. Rev. William B. Lambert, who was afterwards pastor of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church of Evansville, probably followed Rev. Freeman. He was followed by Rev. John D. Cowan, who later became a pastor in Illinois; by Prof. Groves S. Howard, later professor of mathematics in McGee College; by Prof. O. H. Baker, and by Rev. C. A. Hampton, who was the last principal.

The course of study consisted of the common branches, the natural sciences, rhetoric, mental and moral philosophy, logic, Latin, Greek, mathematics, including arithmetic, algebra, geometry and astronomy, and a normal course for the training of teachers.

The academy was never endowed and had therefore to depend upon tuition fees for its support. After the common schools were organized in 1867, the academy was forced to close.²⁷

WAVELAND ACADEMY

The Waveland Academy was located at Waveland, Montgomery county. It was incorporated January 16, 1849, by William G. Allen, John Milligan, David Wills, James McCampbell, Harvey A. Adams, J. C. Eastman, R. N. Allen, Charles K. Thompson, Samuel N. Evans, Abraham Geltner, D. Fullenwider, Samuel D. Vance, Samuel D. Maxwell and Isaac Rice, Jr.

It was styled the Waveland Academy and the trustees were empowered to hold property for educational purposes up to \$50,000.00.

It was organized and controlled by the Crawfordsville Presbytery. It was not designed to run in competition with Wabash College at Crawfordsville, but its purpose was to give "better intellectual and religious training to the pious youth for the gospel ministry," and to prepare students for college.

The committee chosen to select a site for the academy at first selected in Crawfordsville, a site near Wabash College, but later reconsidered the matter and chose Waveland as a location and raised \$1,200 for the erection of a building.

In 1859, a new charter was obtained which changed the name of the academy to the "Waveland Collegiate Institute." The new charter also changed the course of study. Students who had not the time nor means to take a full college course might, under the new charter, pursue a shorter course which comprised most of the branches taught in the scientific courses of the colleges, and obtain a degree.

The following were among the members of the faculty: Rev. Samuel Taylor, Joseph G. Wells, Rev. L. F. Leake, John W. Taylor, John W. Coyner, Henry S. Kritz, Mrs. B. B. Gennett, Rev. D. R. Colnery, Rev. J. M. Stone, Mrs. C. E. Coulter, Miss Maxwell, Miss Lowes, J. M. Naylor, A. M., 1873, Mrs. Irwin, Rev. John Creath, Mrs. Virginia C. Cooper, Rice V. Hunter, J. C. Carson, C. M. Travis, Mr. G. Rhodes, J. C. Steel, Mary A. Brush, Henry W. Fish, Elizabeth Bennett, Miles Brown, James Logan, Anna E. Osborne and Miss Digby.

²⁷ *Laws of Indiana, 1843*, p. 46; also *History of Warriick, Spencer and Perry Counties*, p. 116.

The institute grew rapidly, and when the Civil War broke out it was in a prosperous condition. A large per cent. of the male students enlisted in the army. About this time the public high schools were organized and the attendance began to drop off, and in 1879 it was abandoned.²⁸

FT. WAYNE ACADEMY

The Ft. Wayne Academy, commonly called the Presbyterian Academy, was founded by the Presbyterian Church of Ft. Wayne in 1852 or 1853. It was owned and controlled by a board of trustees of the Presbyterian Church, but distinct from the church board of trustees. Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D. D., LL. D., was pastor of the church at that time and was the leader of the movement.

The academy was located on the north side of Ft. Wayne street between Calhoun and Clinton, on the site now occupied by the old high school building. It was a one-story frame building with a hall, cloak room, and two school rooms, separated by folding doors so that both could be made into one large room. The rooms were supplied with very good desks and seats, and were well lighted and ventilated.

The first teachers of the academy were Henry McCormick, of Springfield, Ohio, and Jacob W. Lanins, both college graduates. They were succeeded by George A. Irvin, a graduate of Hanover College, who had been in charge of the Ladies' Seminary in Paris, Kentucky.

The academy drew students from the Presbyterian families in the country as well as in the city. Among the students were Dr. Gorrell, David Kirkpatrick and Platt Squires. Mr. Irvin conducted the academy successfully until 1857, when the present school system was established, then it was merged into the city schools. On July 10, 1867, the real property was transferred to the city school board.²⁹

WHITE WATER PRESBYTERIAN ACADEMY

The White Water Presbyterian Academy was located at Dunlapville, Union county. It was founded by the Whitewater Pres-

²⁸ *Laws of Indiana*, 1849, p. 465; also letter of Otis E. Hall, County Superintendent of Montgomery County, Crawfordsville.

²⁹ Letter of Dr. David M. Moffat, with data from John H. Jacobs, Ft. Wayne, Ind.

bytery in 1853. The building is a two-story brick with five rooms, and is surrounded by a beautiful playground of about two acres.

The first principal of the academy was Rev. L. D. Potter. He was succeeded by Rev. Russell B. Abbott, 1856-57. The academy was equipped with a fair library and some apparatus. The course of study included the common branches, Greek, Latin and some theology.

The academy was co-educational, and was supported by tuition fees. It prospered until the common school system was organized, then it ceased to be remunerative and was sold to the school corporation of Liberty township. The building is still standing, is in good repair, and is used for a township high school.⁸⁰

BLYTHE-WOOD ACADEMY

The Blythe-Wood Academy was located at Petersburg, Pike county. It was founded by Rev. A. T. Hendricks in 1853, who was at that time pastor of the Presbyterian church at Petersburg.

The public school system had not yet been introduced into the smaller villages and rural districts, and they were still dependent upon the three or six months schools run in the summer or winter by transient teachers. Mr. Hendricks saw the need for better schools and in 1854, he erected rooms in connection with his residence and fitted them up for school purposes. This school was styled the Blythe-Wood Academy, and continued about fifteen years until the common schools were introduced and made it no longer necessary.

The course of instruction extended from the A, B, C's to the higher branches of a liberal English education, including higher mathematics, Latin, Greek and the Bible. Each pupil was required to provide a Bible for his own desk. The government of the school was entirely paternal. The pupils were given to understand that corporal punishment had no place in the school. The only method of punishment was dismissal from school and that was a very rare occurrence.⁸¹

HOPEWELL ACADEMY

The Hopewell Academy was located three miles west of Franklin, Johnson county. Early in 1854, the enterprising citizens raised

⁸⁰ Letter of Supt. Paul F. Showalter, Liberty, Ind.

⁸¹ *History of Pike and Dubois Counties*, 367; letters from J. B. Hendricks, son of Rev. A. T. Hendricks.

by popular subscription funds sufficient to start the work, and in 1855 the academy was opened in the unfinished building.

The academy building was a two-story brick built in the shape of a T. It had three rooms above and three below. In front there was a large porch above and below, supported by two large pillars. On top of the main part of the building was a bell tower. The west room below was used for an assembly room, and the east room for music. Above the assembly room was a large hall that was used by the literary societies. The rooms were heated by long, open stoves. The wraps, baskets and buckets were left in the hallways and in winter the lunches often froze.

The course of study consisted of reading, writing, philosophy, physiology, English grammar, American history, algebra, geometry, Latin, arithmetic, higher arithmetic, botany, science and literature.

The school year was divided into three terms. The first began in September, the second in December, and the third in March, ending the last of May or the first of June.

The academy was the only school in the county offering advanced courses of study, and it was attended by students coming from different parts of the State. What is now the Orphans' Home was once used as a boarding school.

The first principal was Prof. T. P. Kelley, of Waveland, a college graduate, who conducted a successful school for four years. He was succeeded by Prof. Samuel D. Voris, of Vevay, who taught two years, then came Rev. Quincy McKeihan, and after him Prof. Joseph Shaw, a college trained man from Bellefontaine, Ohio, who was principal from 1861 to 1865. Professor Johnson, a graduate of Hanover College, was probably principal during the 60's.

A prospectus of the academy for 1862 shows the tuition fees as follows: Primary Course, \$3.00 per term; Common Schools, \$4.00; Scientific Course, \$6.00; Classical Course, \$8.00; extras—piano, guitar, etc., \$6.00; use of instruments, \$2.00. The term was twelve weeks.

Samuel G. Blythe was principal in 1865-66; Robert Shaw, 1866-68; David Moore, 1868-73; Robert Sturgis, 1873-75; E. P. Cole, 1875-81; Mons Coulter, 1881-82; and Minard Sturgis, 1882-83.

A certificate of graduation from Hopewell Academy admitted the students to the sophomore year in Hanover College. Both of these institutions were controlled by the Presbyterian church and

the graduates of Hopewell went to Hanover College rather than to Franklin College.

The academy was supported by benevolences and tuition fees. In March, 1870, the friends of the academy subscribed for capital stock in the academy to the amount of \$4,000.00, and it was incorporated. It was continued until 1884 when the high school was organized and the academy was abandoned.⁸²

BARNETT ACADEMY

The Barnett Academy was located at Charlestown, Clark county. It was founded by Mr. Allen Barnett and other leading men of the Presbyterian church, in 1860. It had its origin in the union of the "Charlestown Boys' School," and the "Charlestown Female Institute." Only the most meager accounts of these schools could be found.

Early in the 30's or before, the Masonic fraternity erected a two-story brick building, the large upper room of which was used as a Masonic lodge hall.

In 1831, a Mr. Baker conducted a school for boys in the basement of this building. Nothing is known of the school except that he taught the boys to swim in a large box that was built in the basement.

In 1848, Prof. Z. B. Sturges opened the Charlestown Boys' School in a large frame house in the eastern part of the city. At about the same time Prof. George Reed was principal of the Charlestown Female Institute, which was conducted in the brick building built by the Masonic fraternity.

Professor Reed was succeeded by John W. Lindley in 1856, who continued as principal until 1860, when the two schools were combined in the brick building under Prof. Z. B. Sturges, A.M., and it was afterwards known as the Barnett Academy. It was probably about this time that the "L" was added to the building for school purposes. At this time there were three teachers in the faculty and the attendance was about 150. The graduating class of 1861 consisted of seven members.

The academy was controlled throughout its history by the Presbyterian church. A clause in the charter of the academy provided that all principals and assistants should belong to that church.

Professor Sturges was succeeded by H. C. Donnell from 1864-

⁸² *History of Johnson County*, 249.

66; by J. S. McKee, in 1866-67; by James Lindley, from 1867-1870, and by Robert Sturges, from 1870-80, when the academy was closed.

The course of study included Greek, Latin, natural philosophy, higher and practical arithmetic, algebra, geometry and surveying. Since 1880 the building has been used for a residence and hotel.⁸³

LEBANON PRESBYTERIAN ACADEMY

The Lebanon Presbyterian Academy was located at Lebanon, Boone county. It was organized April 15, 1861, with William Zion, president; D. H. Hamilton, secretary, and a board of trustees, consisting of John Bell, David Caldwell, D. H. Hamilton and John Williams.

The building was a three-story brick structure, about 50 x 60 feet, with four class rooms each on the first and second floors. The third floor was used for a chapel and dormitory. The building had gables over the shorter dimension on the north and south, a belfry on the north end, halls running through the long way, and entrances on the north and south.

The academy was equipped with a library of fifty volumes, including Shakespeare's complete works. There was also considerable apparatus for use in physics and chemistry.

The faculty in 1861 consisted of J. M. Coyner, A. M., principal, and teacher of higher mathematics, history, natural, mental and moral science; Rev. C. K. Thompson, A. M., languages; Miss Maggie F. Garrett, L. L., English branches and natural science; Miss Estelle Morrow, M. L., instrumental music and drawing, and two other members not known.

In 1862, there were 180 pupils, of whom 100 were males and 80 females. Among the most distinguished of these are James A. Mount, ex-governor of Indiana; Mrs. James A. Mount, whose acquaintance Mr. Mount made while a student there; Rev. A. H. Dooley, a well-known Baptist minister; A. A. Zion, superintendent of the Belt Railroad, Indianapolis; Senator E. T. Lane, Lebanon, and Rev. Samuel Wilson, one time Presbyterian minister of one of the leading churches of New York City.

In 1863, the enrollment reached 216, and there were six members in the faculty. Tuition, board, fuel, washing and light were quoted

⁸³ *Documentary Journal*; Superintendent's Report; *School Journal*, Locals, 1861; letter of Supt. Lloyd B. Mann, Charlestown; letter and data of Mr. John Owen, Charlestown.

at \$160 per annum. The academy was controlled by the Presbyterian church, and the use of tobacco was forbidden upon the premises.

Two courses of study were offered: the classic, a four years' course which prepared students for the sophomore class in college, and the scientific, a three years' course.

Some of the text-books were: *Robinson's Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry and Surveying; Quackenbos' Rhetoric and Composition; Willson's U. S. History; Crittenden's Bookkeeping; Fitch's Physical Geography; Clark's History of England; Smith's Elements of Astronomy; Mitchell's Ancient Geography; Hitchcock's Physiology; Well's Natural Philosophy; Gray's Botany; Haven's Mental Philosophy; Wayland's Political Economy; Youman's Chemistry, and Coppec's Logic.*

The school year was divided into three parts of thirteen weeks each. School began at 8 A. M. and closed at 4 P. M.

The academy continued for about ten years and after that the building was used by the Lebanon public schools. In 1866, the old building was torn down to make place for the central building for the grades.³⁴

³⁴ Letter and data by Mr. S. N. Cragun, Lebanon, Ind.

EARLY METHODIST CIRCUITS IN INDIANA

WILLIAM W. SWEET, Professor of History, DePauw University

A study of the beginning of Methodism in Indiana must necessarily start with the coming of the first settlers. The settlement of Indiana did not in any real sense begin until after the close of the Wayne campaign, in 1794, but with the termination of the Indian wars, settlers began to enter in considerable number, and by the year 1800 the estimated civilized population of the new territory was 4,875.¹ A majority of the early settlers in Indiana came from across the Ohio river from Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina, and a considerable proportion of them had been members of Methodist societies in the older states. By no means, however, were the Methodists the only denomination represented among the early settlers, but Baptists, Presbyterians and Quakers also were numerous, though the Methodists and the Baptists were the most numerous.² Speaking of the migration of settlers after the Wayne campaign, into Ohio and Indiana, and its effect upon Methodist societies in Kentucky and other places within the western country, one of the pioneer preachers said: "The Indian wars having terminated, the people began to scatter in every direction. New settlements were formed, and Ohio and Indiana began to settle rapidly, and the societies, many of them were broken up, and we had not preachers sufficient to follow the tide of emigration to their new settlements;"³ and as a result of this situation there was a decrease of members in the Western Conference from 1795 to 1801.⁴

Previous to 1801 the Methodist conference in the western country was known as the Kentucky conference, but in the year above mentioned the name was changed to the Western conference, which lasted until 1813 when it was divided into the Ohio and Tennessee

¹ *Indiana Methodism*, F. C. Holliday, 18.

² *Indiana Miscellany*, W. C. Smith, 43.

³ *Autobiography of Rev. William Burke*, contained in Finley's *Sketches of Western Methodism*, 22-92. Rev. William Burke was a Virginian by birth and began to preach in that State in 1791. He came over the mountains into the western country in 1792, and became a powerful factor in planting Methodism in Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana.

⁴ In 1797 there were 1,740 white members and 57 colored reported for the Kentucky District. In 1799 the membership had decreased to 1,672 white and 65 colored, a loss of 68 white and a gain of 8 colored. *Minutes of Conferences 1778-1828*, 74, 86.

conferences. In the year 1801 Kentucky District of the Western conference contained nine circuits, taking in the settlements of Kentucky and the present State of Ohio. These circuits were manned by fourteen preachers and one Presiding Elder, the redoubtable William McKendree. The names of the circuits were the Scioto and Miami, in the Ohio country, and Hinkstone and Lexington, Danville, Salt River and Shelby, Cumberland, Green River, Holston and Russell, and New River in Kentucky and Tennessee.⁵ None of these circuits took in Indiana territory, and there were no official Methodist societies in Indiana at that early date, but there were undoubtedly Methodist services conducted and Methodist preaching by local preachers who came into the Indiana country among the first settlers.

In the year 1800 a great revival began, which spread all over the western country, resulting in more than doubling the membership of the Methodist societies, in the Western conference, and also greatly increasing the number of both local and traveling preachers. This remarkable revival made its appearance in Kentucky in the spring of 1801, at a Quarterly meeting held on the Hinkston circuit. This meeting lasted from Friday until Monday morning, and preaching and exhortations were almost continuous during that time. One of the preachers at that meeting has told us that there "was a great trembling among the dry bones. Great numbers fell to the ground and cried for mercy, old and young." The next week another meeting was conducted on the Lexington circuit, in which "every local preacher and exhorter was employed," holding small meetings at various places on the circuit, and on Sunday morning all the people came together for a great meeting, and as they came they could be heard "singing and shouting on the road." With this beginning the work and enthusiasm spread into all the circuits of the Western conference, and Methodist work was extended into many of the new settlements.⁶ The first reliable record of Methodist preaching in Indiana was in 1801, at a village called Springville, located in what was then known as Clark's Grant, or the Grant. Two local preachers, Samuel Parker and Edward Talbott crossed the Ohio river and conducted a two days' meeting at the place mentioned above.⁷ This was evidently a part of the great revival movement then under way in the western country.

⁵ *Minutes of Conference.*

⁶ *Burke's Autobiography*, 75-79.

⁷ From a letter of Rev. George K. Hester, found in Hollday's *Indiana Methodism*, 37.

To William McKendree, the Presiding Elder of the Kentucky District covering what has since become three great States, belongs the honor of establishing the first official Methodist class ever formed in Indiana. In the summer of 1802 Andrew Mitchell took William McKendree across the Ohio river in a canoe, and on this trip two classes were formed in what is now Clark county, one at Charlestown and the other at a place then called New Chapple.⁸ In the spring of 1803 Benjamin Lakin, then traveling the Salt River circuit in Kentucky, crossed the Ohio river and preached in the woods, near the present town of Charlestown, as soon as the weather permitted, and made arrangements to include that neighborhood, and also the Robertson's neighborhood, which was five miles north of Charlestown,⁹ among his regular preaching places, and thus Indiana, through the zeal of this pioneer circuit rider, came to have a permanent place upon the Methodist map.

At the session of the Western conference in 1805 Peter Cartwright was appointed as junior preacher with Benjamin Lakin on the Salt River and Shelby circuit and he states in his autobiography that "Brother Benjamin Lakin and himself crossed the Ohio river and preached at Brothers Robinson's and Prather's. In this Grant we had two classes and splendid revivals of religion."¹⁰

While Methodist preaching was being introduced in Clark's Grant, in the manner above described, others were introducing Methodist preaching in other sections of the new territory. In 1805 a local preacher, Hugh Cull by name, settled in the Whitewater country in the southeastern section of the Territory and established regular preaching and, soon after, this section was included in a circuit known as the Whitewater circuit, though most of the circuit lay in Ohio.¹¹ This circuit appears on the minutes in 1808 for the first time, with Joseph Williams as the preacher, and at the end of the first year 165 white members were reported and one colored.¹²

⁸ From a letter of I. N. Britton, a life-long friend of Andrew Mitchell. The letter among the records of the Methodist Church at Charlestown, Ind.

⁹ From the letter of Rev. George K. Hester, as above. The Hester family was among the first to settle in Clark's Grant, and from the first they became identified with Indiana Methodism. The family has furnished many Methodist preachers and preachers' wives. With possibly one or two short gaps, there has been a Hester on the roll of the Indiana Conference for almost a century.

¹⁰ *Peter Cartwright's Autobiography*, 167. Peter Cartwright was probably the most famous circuit rider in the middle west. His autobiography reads like a romance.

¹¹ *Indiana Miscellany*, W. C. Smith, 49.

¹² *Minutes of Conferences 1773-1823*, vol. I, 159.

METHODIST CIRCUITS IN INDIANA IN 1811

The first entire circuit in the Territory of Indiana was known as the Silver Creek circuit and was organized in 1807 with Moses Ashworth as the circuit rider. This region had, as stated above, been included within the Salt River and Shelby circuit, most of that circuit lying in Kentucky. With the organization of this circuit, the Silver Creek, Indiana Methodism starts on its separate career. The preacher, Moses Ashworth, closed his first year with a camp meeting, held in the neighborhood of "Father Robertson's," a few miles from the present site of Charlestown. This was probably the first camp meeting held in Indiana.¹³ In the year 1808 a new district was added to the Western conference, and it received the name Indiana District, which is the first time the name Indiana appears in Methodist history.¹⁴ This new district had six circuits, namely, Illinois, which included all the settlements at that time in that great territory; Missouri, another state-wide circuit; Maramack, Cold Water, Whitewater and Silver Creek, the last two being the only circuits in Indiana. Both Silver Creek and Whitewater circuits appear in the minutes for the first time in 1808.

In the year 1810 another Indiana circuit made its appearance for the first time in the minutes for that year. This circuit was none other than Vincennes, and the preacher regularly appointed to this new circuit was William Winas.¹⁵ The story is told that one of the first Methodist services held in the town of Vincennes was conducted on a Sunday night at the fort. The congregation was made up of some government officials, a few English settlers, two or three Indians and the governor of the Territory, William Henry Harrison. There were only a few tallow candles to furnish light for the service, and one of these was kindly held by the governor to enable the young circuit rider to read his text and line out the hymn.¹⁶ Belonging to the Vincennes circuit was a neighborhood known as the Busroe settlement, which was visited by Peter Cartwright in 1808, and was by him organized into a Methodist society, in the following manner, which we will allow him to relate in his own way:

"I will here state a case which occurred at an early date in the

¹³ From letter of Rev. George K. Hester, as above.

¹⁴ *Minutes*, 171.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 184; also Holliday's *Indiana Methodism*, 28.

¹⁶ Holliday, 28-29. Peter Cartwright says the second full circuit in the State of Indiana was the Vincennes circuit, which he himself founded in the manner described on the following page. *Autobiography*, 167.

State of Indiana, in a settlement called Busroe. Many of the early emigrants to that settlement were Methodists, Baptists and Cumberland Presbyterians. The Shaker priests, all apostates from the Baptist and Cumberland Presbyterians, went over among them. Many of them I was personally acquainted with and had given them letters when they removed from Kentucky to that new country.

"There was then no Methodist circuit-preachers in that region. There was an old brother, Collins, a local preacher, who withstood the Shakers, and in private combat was a full match for any of them; but he was not eloquent in debate, and hence the Shaker priests overcame my old brother, and by scores swept members of different churches away from their steadfastness into the muddy pools of Shakerism. The few who remained steadfast, sent to Kentucky for me, praying me to come over and help them. I sent an appointment with an invitation to meet any or all of the Shaker priests in public debate; but instead of meeting me they appointed a meeting in opposition, and warned the believers, as they called them, to keep away from my meeting; but from our former acquaintance and intimate friendship, many of them came to hear me. I preached to vast crowds for about three hours, and I verily believe God helped me. The very foundation of every Shaker present was shaken from under him. They then besought me to go to the Shaker meeting that night. I went, and when I got there, we had a great crowd. I proposed to them to have a debate and they dared not refuse. The terms were these: A local preacher I had with me was to open the debate, then one or all of their preachers, if they chose, were to follow, and I was to bring up the rear. To this agreement the Shakers, however, failed to comply, after the debate was under way, and one of them, a Mr. Gill, called all the Shakers present to disperse, but the sturdy circuit rider, Peter Cartwright, then arose and called upon them to remain and succeeded in holding a considerable number of them. He says: 'When I arose to reply I felt a sense of the approbation of God, and that he would give me success. I addressed the multitude about three hours and, when I closed the argument, I opened the doors of the church and invited all that would renounce Shakerism to come and give me their hand. Forty-seven came forward, and then and there openly renounced the dreadful delusion. The next day I followed those that fled; and the next day I went from cabin to cabin, taking the names of those that returned to the solid foundation of truth, and my number rose to eighty-seven. I then organized them into a regular society and then next fall had a preacher sent

them; and perhaps this victory may be considered among the first fruits of Methodism in that part of the new country.'"¹⁷

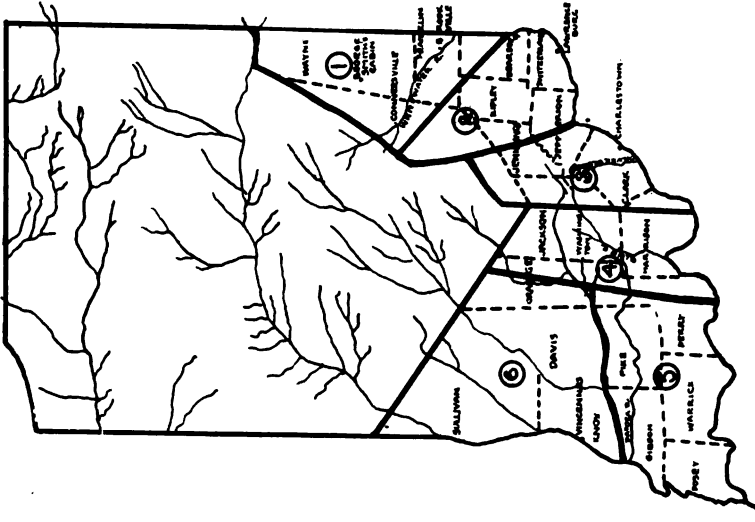
By 1812 two more new circuits had been added, the Lawrenceburg circuit in the southeastern corner of the Territory, between the Whitewater and the Silver Creek circuits, and the Patoka circuit in the southwestern corner, south of the Vincennes circuit and to the west of the Silver Creek. In 1816 another new circuit appears in the minutes for the first time, which was known as the Blue River. The total membership of these six earliest Indiana circuits, in the year 1816, the year of Indiana's admission to the Union, was 1,877.¹⁸ I have attempted to draw a map of these early Indiana circuits, though I have found it extremely difficult to fix any definite boundaries. The early circuit rider was not confined to any definite limits, but went where there was a call or need of his services. Besides regular preaching places he had many irregular ones, the cabins of the scattered settlers, and no company was too small for him to preach to.

The men who manned these early Indiana circuits from the founding of the first one in 1807 to 1816, were as follows (and I give their names because I feel that from the standpoint of Indiana history they are worthy to be recorded): The first regularly assigned preachers to Indiana circuits were Moses Ashworth to the Silver Creek circuit and Joseph Williams to the Whitewater, as has already been stated. From 1808 to 1816 the following men served these two circuits:

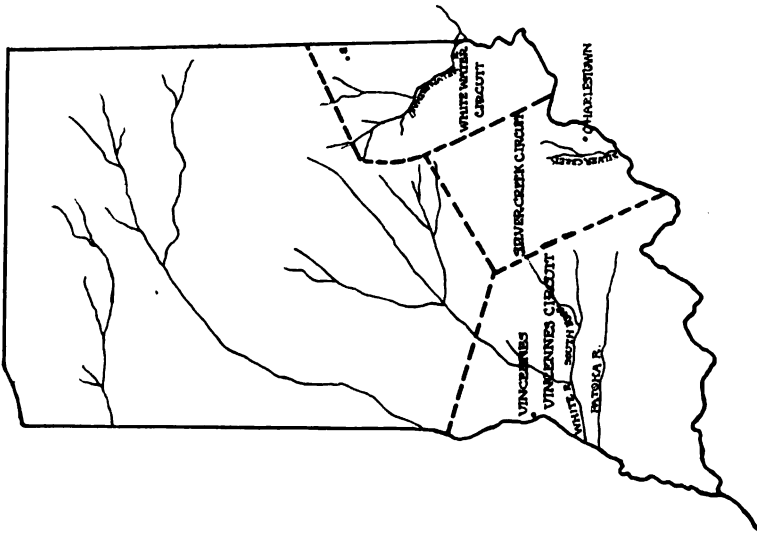
Silver Creek—1809, Josiah Crawford; 1810, Sela Paine; 1811, Isaac Lindsey; 1812, William McMahan; 1813, Thomas Nelson; 1814, Charles Harrison; 1815, Shadrach Ruark and in 1816, Joseph Kinkaid. The men who manned the Whitewater circuit after Joseph Williams to 1816 were: 1809, Hector Sanford and Moses Crume; 1810, Thomas Nelson and Samuel H. Thompson; 1811, Moses Crume; 1812, Robert W. Finley; 1813, John Strange; 1814, David Sharp; 1815, William Hunt; 1816, Daniel Fraley. The Vincennes circuit from 1810 to 1816 was manned by William Winans in 1810; in 1811 Thomas Stilwell was the circuit preacher; Jacob

¹⁷ *Peter Cartwright's Autobiography*, 53-55. The Shakers were a communistic sect officially known as "The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming." The Shakers did not recognize marriage as a Christian institution and considered it less perfect than the celibate state. The Shakers were very active in Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana for a number of years after 1800. Shaker communities were founded in southern Indiana, among them this community at Busroe on the Wabash. The circuit riders were deadly foes to this delusion.

¹⁸ *Minutes*, vol. I., 211, 212, 279-280, 282-283.



METHODIST CIRCUITS IN INDIANA IN 1816
 4. Blue River Circuit. 1. White Water Circuit.
 5. Patoka Circuit. 2. Lawrenceburg Circuit.
 6. Vincennes Circuit. 3. Silver Creek Circuit.



METHODIST CIRCUITS IN INDIANA IN 1811.

Turman succeeded in 1812; Richard Richards, 1813; 1814, Zachariah Witten; 1815, John Schrader, and in 1816, Thomas Davis. The Patoka circuit, founded in 1811, was served in 1812 by Benjamin Edge; in 1813 and 1814 Patoka circuit does not appear in the minutes; in 1815 John Scripps served the circuit, and in 1816, Thomas King. The Lawrenceburg circuit, founded the same year as the Patoka, was served its first year, which was 1812, by Walter Griffith; in 1813, by William Dixon; in 1814, by Moses Crume; in 1815, by John Strange, and in 1816, by David Sharp. In 1816, the first year of the Blue River circuit, it was served by John Shrader. Among the Presiding Elders who oversaw Indiana circuits during these early years were William Burke, from whose autobiography we have quoted, John Sale, Samuel Parker, Solomon Langdon, Learner Blackman, James Axley, James Ward, Peter Cartwright, Charles Holliday and Jesse Walker.¹⁹

Among these names are some which will live as long as the Methodist church lives, and some which are worthy to have a permanent place in Indiana history. The Jesuit Fathers, in the days of exploration on this continent, undertook no greater task than the task which was undertaken by these rude, but earnest and upright frontier preachers, who had a vision of what the western country might become, and helped as few others helped to work out that vision.

At the beginning of Indiana Methodism there were, of course, no meeting-houses, but in the winter time the cabins of the settlers were the temples, and in the spring, just as soon as it became warm enough, the people worshipped out under the trees. It was not long, however, before log meeting-houses began to be erected, for there was plenty of material, and a Methodist revival always resulted in providing willing hands to build the desired house of worship. During Moses Ashworth's first year on the Silver Creek circuit three meeting-houses were erected, and each succeeding year saw other rude log structures rise in the wilderness. In these log meeting-houses there were none of the comforts known to present-day churches. The roofs were made of clapboards held on by weight poles, the floors were made of puncheons, the chimneys of sticks and clay, and the seats were split logs, hewn smoothly with an ax, while the pulpits were made of clapboards smoothed nicely with a drawing knife.²⁰

¹⁹ *Minutes*, vol. I. (1773-1828), 152-287.

²⁰ *Indiana Miscellany*, W. C. Smith, 62-70.

Practically all of the early circuit riders, traveling in the new country, were single men, for Bishop Asbury discouraged marriage among his preachers, knowing the increased hardships marriage would bring to the preachers themselves and especially to their wives. For this reason many of the pioneer preachers ceased to travel, as it was called, while they were still comparatively young men, simply because they married, and were advised to "locate," that is, they settled down in a certain locality and ceased to travel a circuit, though they did not cease to be preachers. At this early time sixty-four to eighty dollars was the amount allowed a traveling preacher, and he must provide his own horse and equipment, such as saddle and saddle-bags. William Burke, who was Presiding Elder of the Green River district in 1810, which included the Silver Creek circuit, was the first married preacher in the west who continued to travel after his marriage. And, he says, "I met with every discouragement that could be thrown in my way. People and preachers said, 'you had better locate.' I shared equally with the single men when they were on the circuit with me, in order to keep peace. * * * One winter I had to use a borrowed blanket instead of a cloak or overcoat."²¹

It is interesting to note that all of the Indiana circuits were named after streams, either rivers or creeks, except the Vincennes and Lawrenceburg circuits. The reason for this is, of course, obvious. The early settlements were along the rivers and creeks, and these were the natural highways of the country, and so, very naturally, the early circuits derived their names from some river or creek along which the settlements were located. There were in those days few towns or postoffices after which circuits might be named, and when there were such towns the circuits soon came to bear their names, rather than that of rivers or creeks, as, for instance, the Vincennes and Lawrenceburg circuits. This naming of circuits after streams was not peculiar to Indiana, but the same was true in all the western country.

How were these great circuits manned, by many times one, and seldom more than two, circuit riders? When we look at those three earliest Indiana circuits, it would seem almost humanly impossible for one man to spread himself over so much territory and be at all effective in his work. And yet that seemingly impossible task was accomplished and many times whole communities stirred in a remarkable manner. The early circuits in Indiana were six or eight

²¹ *Burke's Autobiography*, 91.

week circuits, that is, it took the circuit rider from six to eight weeks to make the round of his various preaching places once. That meant that there was preaching at the regular preaching places not more than once in six or eight weeks. At least four times yearly came the quarterly meetings on every circuit, and on these occasions the presiding elder would work a week or more, and sometimes make the whole round with the circuit preacher. And these were the great meetings to which both preacher and people looked forward for weeks and months ahead. These were the times when the two and three day meetings were held, the usual way being, the meeting beginning on Saturday afternoon and lasting through, with little intermission until Monday morning. Many of the early circuit riders had no homes, but lived in the cabins of the settlers or in the saddle. It is no wonder that the Methodist preacher got a reputation as a horse trader, and as a judge of good horse flesh, for the ease and comfort in which he traveled his circuit depended upon the kind of horse he rode, and the preacher and his faithful horse were necessarily constant companions.

INDIANA'S GROWTH 1812-1820

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WAR ON THE FRONTIER

June 19, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain. August 16, William Hull surrendered Detroit. The preceding day, the Pottawattomies, who had been in the neighborhood of Fort Dearborn, Chicago, treacherously slew the garrison, together with the women and children inmates of that post, as the garrison was vacating the fort to retreat to Fort Wayne. The Pottawattomies, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Shawnees and other less powerful tribes, aided by the British, planned a general attack upon the frontier settlements in Indiana. The hostile savages began to concentrate about Fort Wayne in August, 1812, attacking isolated settlements.¹ A scalping party of Shawnees destroyed the "Pigeon Roost" settlement, about twenty-five miles north of Jeffersonville.² Other Indians at the same time made a savage attack upon Fort Harrison (Terre Haute).³

The isolated settlements were abandoned and the retreating settlers joined with others in the more thickly settled regions in erecting block houses. Back from the frontier line, immigration and settlement continued. The southern part of the Twelve Mile Tract (purchase of 1809, just west of the Greenville Treaty line) filled up rapidly with settlers.⁴ Just west of the Second Principal Meridian squatters and new settlers began to take out land titles. Other settlers, instead of moving into the interior, as had been the case before the war, broke into the wilderness along Little Pigeon creek (boundary between Warrick and Spencer counties) where there were only scattered settlements.⁵ This same year, 1812, Hugh McGary made the first permanent settlement at the site of Evansville. The reaction which began along the dangerous frontier together with immigration into the west, began to concentrate settlements more

¹ Slocum, C. E., *Maumee River Basin*, 274.

² Dunn, J. P., *True Indian Stories*.

³ *Fort Harrison 1812-1912*, p. 17.

⁴ *Nile's Register*, July 4, 1818, p. 318.

⁵ *Warrick, Spencer, and Perry Counties*, (1885) pp. 21, 587.

in the older and poorer regions—regions which had been little settled.⁶

Since 1807 the lands on sale in Indiana had been offered at three land offices, namely: Cincinnati, established in 1800; it offered the lands between the Miami river and the Greenville Treaty Line; Vincennes, established in 1804; it offered lands west of the Second Principal Meridian and included a small part of Illinois; and Jeffersonville, established in 1807, and it offered lands between the other two. The lands were sold in minimum tracts of 160 acres each, at a minimum price of \$2.00 an acre.⁷ Supposing that for each 160-acre tract sold at Vincennes in 1812, one family settled in the Vincennes district, then about twenty-five families would have settled in the district; and about one hundred eighty-four would have settled in the Jeffersonville district. In 1811 the number would have been somewhat greater.

January 22, 1813, occurred the massacre of the greater part of Harrison's force at the River Raisin, which force was under the command of Gen. James Winchester. Although this news seems not to have reached the capital at Vincennes by February 2, when acting Governor John Gibson addressed the legislature, yet he fully understood the dangers on the frontier. He referred to the dangers as follows:

"At your last assemblage (November 11, 1811), our political horizon seemed clear, our infant territory bid fair for rapid and rising grandeur; our population was highly flattering; our citizens were becoming prosperous and happy and security dwelt everywhere, even on our frontiers. But, alas! the scene has changed. . . . The aborigines, our former neighbors and friends, have become our inveterate foes. They have drawn the scalping knife and raised the tomahawk, and shouts of savage fury are heard at our thresholds. Our frontiers are now wiles, and our inner settlements have become frontiers."

CAPITAL MOVED TO CORYDON

The danger had become so threatening by February 11, 1813, that on this date the House of Representatives of Indiana Territory voted the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, the hostile disposition of the Indians, and the danger to which the village of Vincennes is thereby subjected, and for the preservation of the public acts, and the records of the territory in this, our perilous situation, make it necessary that the seat of government of the

⁶ *Vanderburg County* (1889) p. 94.

⁷ Treat, P. J., *National Land System*.

Territory should be removed to a place where the archives of the State and the claims of individuals should not be endangered." ⁸

The massacre on the River Raisin may have been the deciding factor in the removal of the capital, for the news of it was published in the Vincennes *Western Sun*, February 13. There was real danger at Vincennes, for a few days after the House voted to remove the government away from that place, occurred this item in the *Western Sun*:

"It again becomes our duty to record the melancholy news of the murder of three more of our fellow citizens by the Indians. . . . In the course of the present week there has not been less than 15 or 20 horses stolen from the neighborhood."

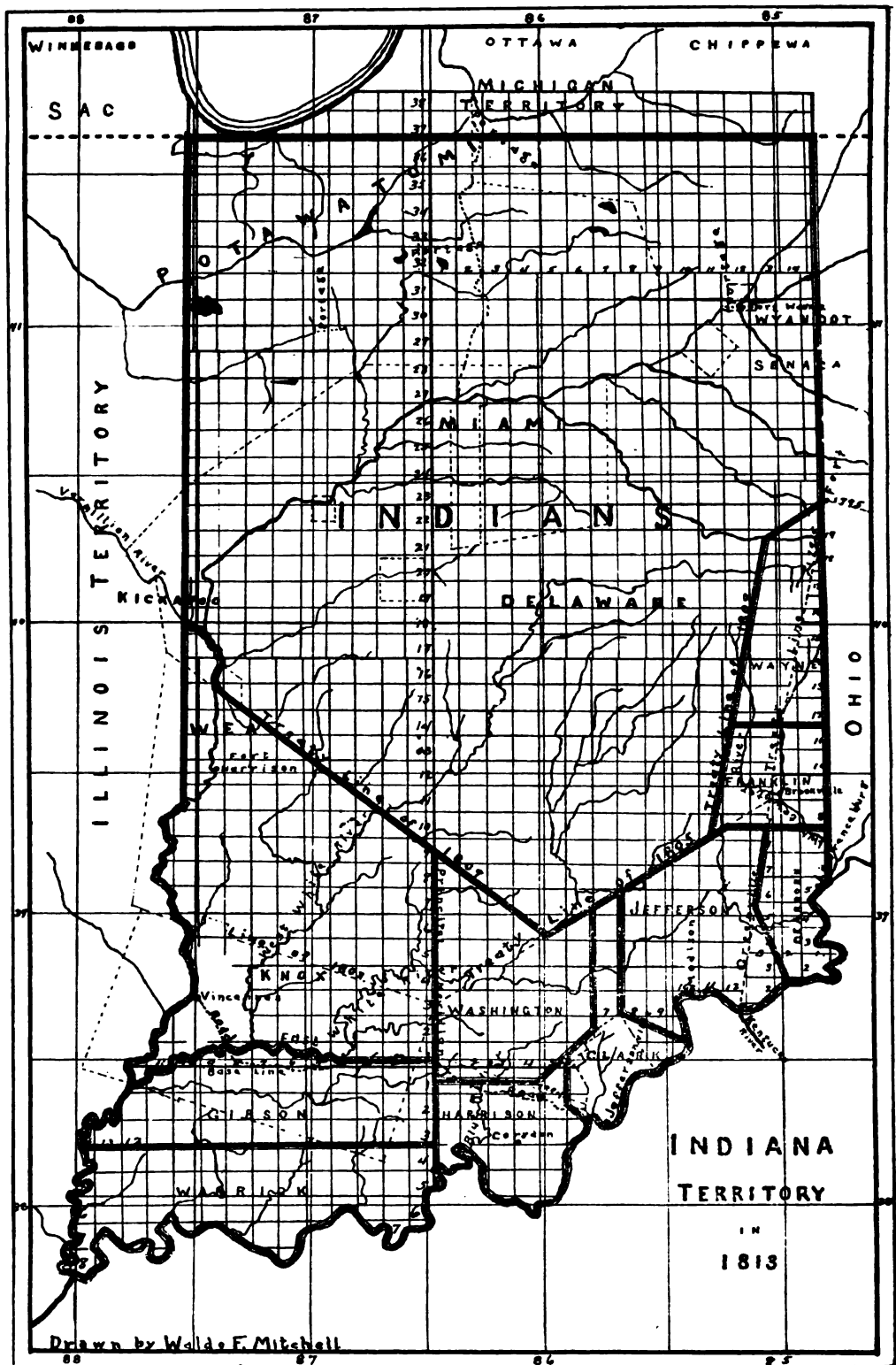
IMMIGRATION IN 1813

In spite of the continued Indian hostility and the unfortunate military failures on the northern frontier, the settlements in 1813 increased. Although in Ohio during this year the land sales very materially decreased, in Indiana they increased—about 57 per cent. at Jeffersonville over the preceding year, and at Vincennes about 35 per cent. At Jeffersonville the sales were the greatest they had ever been, and at Vincennes greater than in any previous year except in 1807, when the period of extensive sales in Indiana had begun. Purchases continued to be made where there was little danger from Indian attacks. The new town of Rising Sun, in Dearborn county (in Ohio county since 1844), was laid out by a planter who had come from Maryland a few years previously.⁹ On March 2, 1813, the first tree was cleared away for the building of the town of New Albany.¹⁰ Farther west great changes were taking place. Knox county was the largest county in the Territory, and until 1807 had been the most populous part of the Territory. Ever since Indiana had been erected into a Territory (1800) and even before, immigrants had been settling occasionally in the Wabash basin, above and below White river. Others had made clearings in the basins of the two White rivers. Still others had settled along the old "Buffalo Trace," which the buffalo had followed from the Illinois prairies to the Blue Grass region of Kentucky, crossing the Ohio at the Falls, and the Wabash near Vincennes. Settlers now followed this path and settled farther and farther

⁸ Vincennes, *Western Sun*, March 20, 1813.

⁹ *Dearborn, Ohio, & Switzerland Counties* (1885) p. 256.

¹⁰ *Ind. Hist. Disc.* 1, No. 4, p. 6. (Wis. Hist. Lib.)



west. After the passage of the Indenture Act of 1805, for the "introduction of Negroes and Mulattoes into this Territory,"¹¹ and the opening up in the same year of more lands for settlement, the number of settlers along the "Buffalo Trace," and along the lower White rivers, increased. By 1813 these settlements had increased enough back from the border, largely because Indian hostilities prevented settlements on the border, that the legislature felt justified in erecting two new counties, out of the southern part of Knox county (see map). Warrick county was to contain all west of the Principal Meridian and south of the line between townships three and four south (this line is the northern boundary of Spencer county). Gibson county was just north of Warrick county. (See map.)¹²

COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION

Commerce and navigation began to assume greater importance. Steam had just begun to be used on the Ohio, the first steamboat descending from Pittsburgh in 1811. But for many years the farmers used flatboats mostly in marketing their flour, corn, whisky, and meats at New Orleans. They would return either overland or would pole keel boats up the rivers.¹³

In order to facilitate navigation on Whitewater river, the legislature declared, in 1813, that that river should be navigable from the Ohio state line up the river and up its west branch to the three forks. The county courts in the various counties through which the river ran were instructed to lay the river off into divisions and to appoint an overseer over each division. These overseers were to call out the men to clear the river for navigation, just as they were called out to work the roads.¹⁴

This legislature also passed an act regulating exportation of meat products and flour. It provided for the inspection of flour, beef and pork, that were packed for shipment. A barrel of beef or pork should contain 200 pounds, and should be branded, "Indiana Territory, Mess Beef," "Prime Beef," "Mess Pork," or "Prime Pork," according as it was first or second grade. A barrel of flour should contain 196 pounds, and should be branded, "superfine," "fine," or "middlings," according as it was first, second, or third quality.¹⁵

¹¹ Dunn, J. P., *Indiana*, p. 329.

¹² *Territorial Laws*, 1813, p. 67.

¹³ Smith, W. H., *Indiana*, II, 644.

¹⁴ *Territorial Laws*, 1813, p. 4.

¹⁵ *Territorial Laws*, 1813, p. 58.

Later in the year 1813 the legislature cut off the northern part of Harrison county and erected a new county—Washington. (See map.) Thus in one year of frontier hostilities three new counties were erected in Indiana, making the total number ten.

HOSTILITIES LESSEN IN 1814

September 12, 1813, Commodore O. H. Perry won his famous victory on Lake Erie, and a little later Harrison defeated the British at the River Thames in Canada. In this battle Tecumtha was killed. The war was now transferred to the Niagara frontier. On the eastern border in Indiana, along the upper branches of the Whitewater and East White rivers, the settlers began to feel secure about the middle of the year 1814. The war had not abated, so this cessation of Indian hostilities on the eastern frontier may have been due to the treaty of peace and alliance which Lewis Cass, General Harrison and Governor Shelby negotiated with the Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, Pottawattomie and Kickapoo tribes, July 22, 1814.¹⁶ This treaty was made in pursuance of a letter from the War Department, instructing those officers to ally the Indians to the United States against Great Britain. It was signed by 112 Indians, including the three chiefs of the Wyandot, Delaware and Shawnee tribes—all three chiefs having previously signed the treaty negotiated by Wayne at Greenville in 1795. The United States later granted to about all of these chiefs grants of land in Ohio.¹⁷ One of the commissioners negotiating this treaty said to the chiefs: "You have now come forward to take us by the hand; we are equally anxious and willing to take you by the hand, but you must take up the tomahawk and with us strike our enemies. Then your great father, the President, will forgive the past."¹⁸ The Indians were furnished by the commissioners with sufficient whisky to whet their hatchets against the British.

Although hostilities lessened in 1814 on the eastern border, yet on the western frontier, along the Wabash hostilities continued till the end of 1815. Occasional murders were reported and stock was frequently run off. The *Western Sun*, August 14, 1814, stated that a number of horses had recently been stolen from Busseron creek, north of Vincennes, and that near Fort Harrison thirty-two horses and a large number of cattle had been stolen by the Indians.

¹⁶ *State Pioneer Convention*, Indianapolis, Oct. 2, 1878.

¹⁷ *United States Statutes* VII, also Dillon, J. B., *Indiana Hist. Soc. Pub.* I, p. 136.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

LAND SPECULATION INCREASES 1814

As hostilities on the eastern border ceased in 1814, settlers came in in great number. On the seaboard times were dull, the coast was blockaded, taxes were high, and the currency was in disorder. Agriculture was not flourishing, so there began a flow of emigration westward that threatened to depopulate some of the eastern States. The legislatures of Virginia and North Carolina lamented this great exodus of their people.¹⁹ Dearborn county received a goodly share of the emigrants, including some New Englanders.²⁰ The additions of population to this county were such as to warrant the formation of a new county, Switzerland, out of Jefferson and Dearborn counties, with about the same boundaries as at present.²¹ The main settlements of Switzerland county were those of the Swiss colonists who had settled there in 1802, to start the culture of grapes. Vevay, which had been laid out in 1813, was made the county seat. It was only a collection of huts in 1814; but it began a period of rapid growth.²²

Farther down the Ohio, the town of Evansville was laid out, and the lots were put on sale. The site for this future city was described as having "an excellent harbor for boats, and as to situation, it is perhaps surpassed by none in the western country." The proprietor thought he could see its advantages for inland trade. He predicted that the time was "not distant when merchants and traders will, from economy, transport their goods across from Evansville to Princeton and Vincennes, in preference to the circuitous route of the Ohio and Wabash rivers." However, the town did not grow much during the next two decades.²³

Other proprietors of towns were as enthusiastic as the proprietor of Evansville. Other towns were advertised in the vicinity of Evansville as being possible centers for the inland trade.²⁴ By the middle of 1814 the settlements along this part of Ohio had been so augmented by new settlers that the General Assembly which met in August erected two new counties out of Warrick. Posey county was between the Wabash and Ohio rivers and Perry was just west of the Principal Meridian. Warrick was cut down, to include the remainder between the other two new counties.²⁵

¹⁹ McMaster, J. B., *Hist. of the People*, IV. p. 383.

²⁰ Matthew, L. K., *Expansion of New England*, p. 201.

²¹ *Territorial Laws*, 1814, p. 30.

²² McMaster, J. B., *History of People of the U. S.*, IV., p. 385.

²³ *Western Sun*, July 2, 1814.

²⁴ *Western Sun*, Sept. 24, 1814.

²⁵ *Territorial Laws* 1814, p. 18.

With the increasing immigration, the land sales increased greatly. At Vincennes the increase was 245 per cent. over the preceding year, and at Jeffersonville the increase was 130 per cent. Although the increase at Jeffersonville still remained about three and one-half times those at Vincennes, thus showing that still in 1814 the immigrants were mostly stopping in the eastern part of the territory. Farther east the sales at the Cincinnati office were also great.²⁶

CURRENCY AND BANKING 1814

With the increase in the sales of land arose also the demand for more money. There were no banks in the territory in which the government could deposit the money received at the land offices, so this money was taken east for depositing, thus draining coin from the West. The people of the West bought more goods of the East than the East bought from the West, so the balance must be paid the East in money. These two drains upon the supply of money in the West were so great that the people of the West were badly in need of some form of money. They saw that the easiest way to get this form of money was to create banks, which could make "money" as fast as printers could print the bills. So, the General Assembly, which met for the first time at the new capital, Corydon, in the summer of 1814, chartered two banks, the Vincennes Bank, and the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Madison, the seat of Jefferson county. This last bank was to prove a boon to the farmers of the community, and it aided the merchants in their transactions with New Orleans and with the East.²⁷

There were at the time three main ways in which money was secured for investments: the military campaigns in the West had brought a good deal of money to this region, as the contractors and merchants were paid for furnishing supplies for the army; the continual stream of immigration brought in money to invest; the banks could issue paper "money" almost without limit. Consequently, a period of active speculation in town lots began. During the year 1815, proprietors of various towns along White river and the Wabash advertised their towns for sale. Although the Indians were still hostile along the Wabash, the town of Carlyle on the Busseron, north of Vincennes, was advertised for sale, as being in the midst of a flourishing settlement.²⁸

²⁶ *Senate Doc. 30, Cong. Sess. 1 Doc. 41, p. 67, ff.* The figures for the land sales are taken from this document.

²⁷ Esarey, L., *State Banking in Indiana*, p. 221, ff.

²⁸ *Western Sun*, June 30, 1815.

PEACE RESTORED, SPECULATION INCREASES

Early in 1815 it became known throughout the country that peace was restored between the United States and Great Britain. With the return of peace, great quantities of English goods were put upon the American market. In 1815 the importations from Great Britain alone amounted to \$83,000,000, and in 1816 to \$155,000,000. While the merchants were sinking their circulating capital in these goods, American woolen, cotton, paper and iron manufacturing was being ruined.²⁹ These investments were felt along the frontier. The New England goods, too, found again a ready market in the West, before the rush of English goods crowded them out. Before the middle of the year 1815 the Vincennes merchants had laid in a supply—a “handsome assortment of New England cotton cloths.”³⁰

With the return of peace, migration to Indiana Territory increased. In his message, December 1, 1815, Governor Thomas Posey said:

“Our emigration which is rapidly populating our fertile lands in a little time will enable us to be admitted into the political family of the Union, as an independent State. Permit me to recommend to the legislature the propriety as well as the justice of imposing as moderate taxes on the emigrants to this territory as may be compatible with the public interest. Most of them have moved from a great distance, at a considerable expense. They have to encounter money difficulties in opening their farms for cultivation, before they can derive a support, much more a profit from them; and consequently their ability will be lessened from contributing largely for a short time to the public exigencies.”³¹

This document expresses the essence of settlers' troubles—getting on a paying basis after expending so much of their limited capital to get to the new country and to pay for their farms. It took the greater part of the first year for a settler to get a small clearing made. Even on prairie land, it was a great task to get the sod broken and the soil subdued for planting. Labor was scarce, and there was little money to pay what labor was available. All of these factors, together with many others, made the task of forming a new settlement a difficult one. The capital of the West was thus used up in getting started, and in investments, so that there was little left in getting crops to market at a distance. In 1819 the

²⁹ Coman, K., *Industrial History of U. S.*, p. 189.

³⁰ *Western Sun*, April 3, 1815.

³¹ *Nile's Register*, X, p. 351.

president of the Vincennes Bank wrote: "Our banking capital, here in the West, is all tied up in city improvements, and there is none to move our produce."³²

In the meantime the ferries across the Ohio, and the roads leading north from them, had not been idle. Kentuckians had been crossing the Ohio at Henderson, and settling in Posey and Warrick counties, and the western part of Gibson county. Another road led toward the interior from the crossing at Rockport. Farther up the Ohio still another road led north from the crossing at Blue river, into Washington and Harrison counties.³³ By 1815 enough settlers had followed this and other routes to justify the formation of two new counties. Orange county was to consist of the territory from twelve miles west of the Principal Meridian to eight miles east, and north of Perry and Harrison counties to the Indian boundary line of 1809. Jackson county was to lie east of Orange, west of range eight east, and north of the Muscatatuck, to the Indian country. Both of these counties were in the basin of East White river.³⁴

STATEHOOD

The General Assembly in 1815 followed the suggestion* of the governor, and petitioned Congress to be allowed to pass to statehood. This petition stated that the inhabitants were principally composed of emigrants from every part of the union, and as various in their customs and sentiments as in their persons. However, Southerners predominated in numbers, except possibly in the southeast counties.

The petition asked for an enumeration, which was taken. This census showed a total population of 63,897—a little more than the 60,000 necessary to pass to statehood. This census also revealed the fact that the population was moving toward the interior, and settling there more than along the Ohio. In the Whitewater basin, Wayne and Franklin counties (see map; Randolph had not yet been erected), neither of which counties touched the Ohio, contained a larger population than Dearborn, Switzerland and Jefferson counties, by 30 per cent. The three counties, Posey, Warrick and Perry, all on the Ohio, practically the same territory as comprised Warrick in 1813, did not have a combined population equal to any one of the interior counties. Of all the eight counties on the

* *American State Papers, Finance, III, p. 724.*

³² Cockrum, W. M., *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 126.

³⁴ *Territorial Laws*, 1815, pp. 3, 57.

Ohio, only Clark and Harrison had a population equal to the interior counties. More than 71 per cent. of the population was east of the Second Principal Meridian. The line between ranges five and six east (the line passes through Columbus) would have divided the population into two almost equal groups. About one-third of the population was in the three counties, Clark, Harrison and Washington, the first two of which were on the Ohio, and in the second was the new capital, Corydon. In this census the newly erected counties, Orange and Jackson, were counted as part of the original counties from which they were formed. The census showed two regions more thickly populated than any others—the upper White-water and the region west and northwest of Jeffersonville, about the new capital, Corydon.³⁵

The petition asking for statehood also asked that 7 per cent. of the moneys received for the sales of public lands in the State be granted the new State to be used as it saw fit. When Ohio became a State in 1803 it was provided that 2 per cent. of the sales of lands in the State should be devoted to the building of roads to Ohio, by Congress, and 3 per cent. should be used by the State legislature of Ohio for roads within the State.³⁶ But Congress granted to Indiana only what had been granted to Ohio—that 5 per cent. of the sales should be reserved for the construction of public roads and canals, of which 2 per cent. should be used by Congress in making a road or roads leading to the State, and 3 per cent. to be used for roads or canals within the State, under the direction of the legislature.³⁷

The petition also asked that section 16 in each township be granted the State for school purposes; that in counties where section 16 had already been disposed of, other lands be given instead; that township 2 south of range 11 west be granted for an academy, and that a township be given for a college. All of these grants of land were made by Congress, on condition that purchasers of United States lands within the State should be free from taxation on the lands purchased after December 1, 1816, for five years from date of purchase. Saline lands (lands about salt wells) not to exceed thirty-six sections, were granted the State for a site for a capital. The State boundary was extended north ten miles beyond the southern point of Lake Michigan, and the western boundary was to be the

³⁵ Cockrum, W. M., *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 390; census of 1815.

³⁶ Treat, P. J., *National Land System*, p. 109.

³⁷ Poore, B. P., *Charters and Constitutions*, I, 498. See also *Amer. State Papers, Public Lands*.

Wabash from its mouth to the point where the meridian of Vincennes last touched the river, and then north on this meridian. The eastern boundary was left as it had been—the meridian of the mouth of the Miami river.³⁸

SETTLERS' RIGHTS

One of the reasons given by the petitioners for asking as much as 7 per cent. of the proceeds of the land sales was that the settlers had endured many dangers and hardships to found settlements in this wilderness, as a consequence of which the government lands were to be enhanced in value. It was thought that this fact would justify the settlers in asking for a large per cent. of the sales. These settlers had political theories almost as acute as those of the French philosophers, although they seldom made display of their theories unless they thought their rights were being interfered with. In the latter part of 1815, some of the settlers thought the general government was interfering with their rights. For about seven years the boundary between whites and the Indian country had been stationary, but the frontier line of settlement had moved onward, and many squatters could be found on Indian soil, where they had no legal right to be. So, December 12, 1815, President Madison ordered all such "unlawful occupants" or "uninformed or evil-disposed persons" to remove from such Indian lands by March 10, 1816, under penalty of the law. In case they had not removed by the time set, the United States marshal was to remove them.³⁹

A storm of protest ensued, but it seems that perhaps a majority of the squatters never took the proclamation seriously. However, one editorial writer under the name of "Farmers' and Patriots' Rights," in a continued series of articles, vigorously asserted the rights of the squatters, and magnified what he thought was the high patriotism shown by the settlers as they "kept in awe for the last three years, a savage foe, whose tomahawks and scalping knives would otherwise have glittered in our houses. . . . Are they," said he, "when danger has ceased to threaten, to be called uninformed or evil-disposed and ordered off the land their presence alone has hitherto secured?" This writer maintained that the pre-emption laws passed by Congress at various times, benefitting those who had settled illegally on government land, were as surely violations of the law for preventing squatters from settling on

³⁸ Poore, B. P., *Charters and Constitutions*, I. 498; also *Western Sun*, Jan.

³⁹ 1816; see also Hinsdale, B. A., *Old Northwest*, p. 326.

Richardson, J. D., *Messages & Papers*, I, p. 572.

Indian lands, as was settling there itself. He then continued: "Can it be contended that when Congress and the United States executive set an act at defiance, that the people should not?"

His final argument was that such a policy of removal would injure the Territory by weakening the frontier, by taking away those daring men who had been keeping back the Indians.⁴⁰ Additional force is given these squatter arguments when it is remembered that because of recent hostilities, many of the settlers could not pay the final or fourth annual installments on the farms which they had purchased from the government. Upon this failure to make the final payment, the settlers were obliged to forfeit their farms back to the government, thus losing what they had paid down, and their improvements. Such losses during the hostilities were comparatively great, running up to several thousands of dollars. In 1813 more than half as much land reverted to the government as was bought.⁴¹ The same persons who were obliged to lose money because of the hostilities, were the daring men who had been engaged in protecting the frontier—which protection enabled the government to sell the lands at better advantage. The losses helped to unify the settlers in their expression of what they called their rights.

RUSH TO THE WABASH 1816

By the summer of 1816 the lands along the Wabash (as far north as Clinton), and inland for many miles east of the Wabash, were surveyed, and put on sale at Vincennes.⁴² Troops and travelers had passed over these lands for several years, and had sent far and wide glowing accounts of the rich lands along the Wabash. All the west had heard of the prairies about Fort Harrison. Indian hostilities had ceased the preceding year, so that immigrants could safely take up land there. The fact that the State had grown to an equality with the other States of the Union advertised the lands in Indiana all the more. So a great flood of emigration set in toward Indiana, and a large part of it turned into the Wabash basin. In one day fifty wagons crossed the Muskingum at Zanesville, Ohio, all bound westward.⁴³ Indiana afforded cheaper lands than Ohio, so the tide of settlers flowed over and around Ohio to settle on the Wabash, and the lower White river. It is said that 42,000 came to Indiana in 1816.⁴⁴ The land sales at Vincennes increased enor-

⁴⁰ *Western Sun*, Jan. 27, Feb. 23, 1816.

⁴¹ *American State Papers, Public Lands*.

⁴² See map in Indiana Auditor's Report, 1842, 276.

⁴³ *Nile's Register*, November 23, 1816, p. 208.

⁴⁴ McMaster, J. B., *History*, V, p. 159.

mously. In 1815 the sales there had been only 30 per cent. as great as at Jeffersonville, but in 1816, although at Jeffersonville the sales increased 30 per cent., the sales at Vincennes were greater than at the other office—in fact, they had increased 425 per cent.⁴⁵ Many people came down the Ohio, others crossed over from Kentucky, but the majority came overland. They came in all manners of ways. Joseph Liston came from Ohio to Vigo county, bringing his family with him. He put his household goods on one horse, and placed his two boys on top of the goods. His wife rode the other horse and carried the youngest child, while another was tied on behind her. Mr. Liston walked behind.⁴⁶ This was the type of the immigrant family arriving daily on the Wabash. A study of the immigration to Vigo county, as disclosed in the biographies of Beckwith's *Vigo County*, shows that the majority of the permanent settlers were from New York, Ohio and Kentucky. The nativity of the settlers of neighboring counties was similar, except that the Quakers from North Carolina comprised a more prominent element in the settlement of Parke county.

The following table is compiled from a study of the biographies of permanent settlers in Vigo county. It does not take into account the many pioneers who stayed for a time and then moved on to other counties or states. In nearly all cases this table has taken into account the State where born, and not the State from which the settler came directly to Indiana. In some cases, if the settler had moved into another State at any early age, and had spent a good many years in that State, the table takes the latter State as the place of nativity. Although this table could not be absolutely indicative of the nativity, it is valuable in indicating the nativity of the people of Vigo county.

Year.	N. Y.	O.	Ky.	N. C.	Pa.	Tenn.	Va.	Ind.	Other.	Ttls.
1816	5	1	2	2	1	0	1	0	5	17
1817	5	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	11
1818	4	4	1	0	1	0	1	0	5	16
1819	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	4
1820	2	2	3	2	0	1	0	0	2	12
1821	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1822	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
1823	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	4
1824	1	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	6
1825	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Totals	20	14	12	7	4	3	2	1	15	78

⁴⁵ *Senate Documents, 30 Cong. Sess. 1, Dec. 41, p. 67 ff.*

⁴⁶ *Beckwith, Vigo County, p. 464.*

GROWTH OF TOWNS 1817-1818

The growth of towns, that had been begun in 1814, increased, and much capital was invested in town improvements. Many paper towns were advertised during the year 1817, but a large part of these could not be found by the "tender-foot" purchasers and many of the towns have not been heard of since. Others, however, received a substantial growth. Vevay, which three years before was merely a collection of huts, had grown to be a flourishing county seat, with seventy-five dwellings, in which lived a prosperous people. In this town were thirty-one mechanics of various trades. It received mail three times a week, and supported a weekly newspaper.⁴⁷ In this year about 5,000 gallons of wine were pressed from the grapes at Vevay, averaging about 350 gallons per acre.⁴⁸

The German colony of communists at Harmony on the Wabash, had grown in the two years to consist of three hundred families, with extensive farms, large barns and busy shops. All sorts of trades were carried on, such as shoemaking, saddlery, weaving, etc. These communists in 1817 reaped a harvest from many acres of vines, 200 acres of wheat, 40 acres rye, 20 of barley, 30 of oats, and they had a meadow of 50 acres. They had a large stock of cattle, hogs and merino sheep, the wool of which they manufactured into broadcloth. A large ornamental garden, well-tended, caught the eye and fancy of travelers.⁴⁹ In the fall this colony was largely augmented in numbers by a fresh immigration, about 1,000 being expected.⁵⁰ This town became for a few years, one of the most noted in America, and scientists from all parts of the world visited it.⁵¹

Another agricultural town further up the Wabash was as noted as the colony at Harmony, but for a different reason. The peculiar religious sect called Shakers had a small town of about two hundred people, who lived in eight or ten houses.⁵²

The mail routes give a good indication of the settled regions of the State in 1817. There were the following weekly routes which touched it: (1) Cincinnati, North Bend, Mouth of Miami River, Lawrenceburg, Laughery Creek, Vevay, Madison, Bethlehem, Province, Lexington (Ind.), Charlestown, Jeffersonville and Louis-

⁴⁷ McMaster, J. B., *History*, IV, p. 385.

⁴⁸ *Nile's Register*, Nov. 29, 1817, p. 224.

⁴⁹ *Nile's Register*, Sept. 6, 1817.

⁵⁰ *Nile's Register*, Dec. 20, 1817, p. 272.

⁵¹ Lockwood, *New Harmony Movement*.

⁵² Thomas, David, *Travels*, p. 149.

ville: (a) Lexington to Salem and Paoli; (b) Charlestown to Salem, Beck's Mills, Lindley's Mills, Perry's Ferry and Hawkins' Ferry to Vincennes; (c) Vincennes, Hazelton's Ferry, Columbia, Princeton, Harmony, Warrick Court House, Rebus's Ferry and Shawneetown; (d) Shawneetown (Ill.), Carmi, Palmyra to Vincennes; (e) Princeton to Henderson (Ky.); (2) Newcastle (Ky.) to Madison and Vernon; (3) Louisville to Corydon, Fredericksburg, Salem, Moser, Vallonia to Brownstown.⁵³

During the year the speculation in town lots in the Wabash basin continued. Lots were put on sale at Clinton, on the Wabash, near the Indian country; at Bloomington, at places on the road from Vincennes to Louisville, on the Ohio and at other places in the State.⁵⁴ One town thus advertised will serve as a type of town that tried to spring up in the new State:

"Sprinklesburg is laid out on the banks of the Ohio 2 miles below the mouth of Cypress—so much has been said of the new towns laid off in this State that it is believed by the proprietors needless to point out its various advantages. It is presumed that none will become purchasers without viewing them; there is, however, no new town in point of eligibility will bear a comparison with his.

"Terms of payments—in 4, 8, 12, and 18 months, in equal installments.

"JOHN SPRINKLE,

"Proprietor."⁵⁵

Surplus capital at this time was invested in town property rather than in farms. In fact, there was a very rapid and steady decrease in the sales of lands at Jeffersonville from 1816 till 1819, and at Vincennes till 1820. However, the sale at both places yet remained considerable. The sales in Indiana at the Cincinnati office were of lands between Brookville and Vevay, on the head branches of Tanner's, Hogan, Laughrey and Indian creeks, west of Lawrenceburg and Rising Sun and farther north in the extreme end of the Twelve Mile Tract, on the branches of the White and Mississinewa rivers.⁵⁶ In this latter region a new county, Randolph, was erected along with two other border counties, Vigo and Monroe, with Terre Haute and Bloomington as the chief towns of these two. South of Monroe county, Lawrence county was erected in the East White river basin. Ripley county, which had been laid out two years before, was now organized. On the lower Ohio, Vanderburg, Spencer and Crawford

⁵³ *Western Sun*, Aug. 30, 1817.

⁵⁴ *Western Sun*, Aug. 30, 1817.

⁵⁵ *Western Sun*, Aug. 1, 1818. (Cypress creek is in Warrick County.)

⁵⁶ *Nile's Register*, July 4, 1818, p. 318.

counties were organized, with Evansville, Rockport and Fredonia as the chief towns—all being ports on the Ohio.⁵⁷ This seemingly healthful growth, however, was accompanied with economic distress, which was felt quite generally in 1818.

ECONOMIC DISTRESS 1818

The lands purchased from 1800-1820 could be bought of the government on credit, so the greater part of them were bought on credit. Nearly all the purchasers were in debt to the government, to the banks, or to their neighbors. There was a great scarcity of money in the west, and this was the main cause of the economic distress. The president of the State Bank at Vincennes stated the situation in a letter dated January 9, 1819:

"The present situation of the western people is distressing; they cannot get for their produce one dollar of the kind of money that will be received in payment of their debts to the United States. It is not for want of a sufficient quantity of produce that the western people do not pay their debts, but for want of system in bringing the products of their labor to its market. The banks of the United States west of the mountains issue but few notes, and these few are immediately collected by the merchants and sent east. The State banks of the western country have generally perverted the system of banking and instead of encouraging and fostering those who were employed in collecting and exporting the produce from which their country derives its wealth, they have built up their capital in cities and towns, from which they may, perhaps, derive the interest of their money, but cannot again withdraw their funds, at least for a long time. . . ." ⁵⁸

An English farmer living near Princeton stated the economic and social condition as seen through the eyes of an *Englishman*. He said:

"Money cannot be gained by cultivation, produce may, perhaps, be sold at some price, but you cannot get your money of the cheats and scum of society who live here." ⁵⁹

Following the expiration of the First United States Bank in 1811 was a period of reckless banking. A great many State and private banks sprang up. James Flint, a judicious Scotch traveler, who spent part of the year 1819 at Jeffersonville, described the situation of the banks as follows:

"The total number of these establishments in the United States:

⁵⁷ *Special Laws* 1817, p. 12; 1818, p. 34.

⁵⁸ *American State Papers, Finance*, III, p. 785.

⁵⁹ *W. Faux, Journal*, Nov. 3, 1819, p. 322.

could not, perhaps, be accurately stated on any given day. The enumeration, like the census of population, might be affected by the births and deaths. The creation of this vast host of fabricators, and venders in base money, must form a memorable epoch in the history of the country."⁶⁰

It is but just to the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Madison, however, to observe that it fared better than the State Bank of Indiana and most private banks, for it continued to pay specie until all State bank paper was refused at the land offices, and even then it continued to favor the farmers of the Jeffersonville land district by redeeming its bills when presented by persons indebted to the Jeffersonville land office.⁶¹

Yet the Second United States Bank, which was instituted at the beginning of 1817, acted as a great restriction on the State banks. Although their number in the United States increased from 208 in 1815 to 307 in 1820, their note issues were reduced from \$100,000,000 in 1817 to \$45,000,000 in 1819, and to \$40,000,000 in 1820. This greatly reduced the amount of money in circulation.⁶² As has already been pointed out, the branches of the United States Bank never issued money notes in the West. By order of October, 1819, the western branches were prohibited from issuing any more notes at all.⁶³ This lessened the available supply of circulating medium, and compelled the government to receive more and more of the State bank issues in the West and South. The State banks were anxious to loan as much of this paper money as possible to the investors. Bad banking stimulated greater investments, and desire to invest stimulated bad banking.

In the early part of 1818 the Indiana State legislature passed an act for the execution of the estates of insolvent debtors—a law that seemed fair to debtors and creditors, but which was oppressive to the debtors, however just it might appear. The debtor, after legal exemptions for personal property were made, was to surrender the remainder of this property to the county courts which would sell the property to pay the creditors.⁶⁴ Because money was scarce, and debtors could not pay, sheriff sales became common. The condition in Vigo county is a good example. In one day at Terre Haute in 1816 there were sold lots to the value of \$21,000, and the best farm

⁶⁰ Thwaites, R. G., *Western Travels*, IX, p. 133.

⁶¹ *State Papers* 17, *Cong Sess.* I, Vol. 6, Doc. 66, p. 58 ff.

⁶² Dewey, D. R., *Financial History*, 154, 166, and 228.

⁶³ Catterall, R. C. H., *Second Bank of the United States*, p. 454.

⁶⁴ *Laws of Indiana, 1817-1818*, p. 324.

land in the vicinity were quickly sold at five to ten dollars an acre when the minimum was two dollars. During the fall of 1816, 906 tracts of 160 acres each were sold in the Vincennes district.⁶⁶ This was evidently speculation, and the crisis of 1818 and following fell heavily on the purchasers. In October, 1819, the sheriff of Vigo county advertised for sale ninety-seven tracts of farm land and sixty-four lots in Vigo county and Terre Haute, and twelve lots at Greenfield. All but seven of the tracts advertised were 160-acre tracts; only two tracts were larger, and one of these was a 329-acre tract of third rate land.⁶⁶

The United States Treasury was puzzled as to what kind of money would be receivable for lands purchased. By order of Congress, after February 20, 1817, no money would be receivable for lands except in coins, United States bank notes, treasury notes, and specie-paying notes of the State banks. The Vincennes Bank petitioned to be allowed to accept the deposits from the land sales at Vincennes and this arrangement was made. Secretary Crawford granted the petition, and deposits were made there. But in 1819 the bank failed to meet the United States drafts, so the bank was deprived of this privilege for a time.⁶⁷

The western branches of the United States Bank, after sustaining serious losses by receiving notes of State banks, were ordered after June 30, 1818, not to receive anything except specie and their own notes. They withdrew all their deposits from the State banks, and ceased all relations with them. This compelled the Indiana banks to cease issuing notes, which were being used to drain their vaults of specie by being presented for redemption as soon as issued.⁶⁸

By order of August 28, 1818, the branches of the United States Bank were prohibited from receiving each other's notes. The Cincinnati banks could not meet their obligations, and failed in November. By January, 1819, all the Kentucky banks had suspended payments and their notes were at a discount of 20 to 30 per cent. Throughout the years 1818-1820 State banks in the West and South failed. Finances became so bad that the United States Bank could not find a bank in Indiana, Illinois or Tennessee which it considered perfectly sound. Conditions in Indiana and other western States

⁶⁶ David Thomas's *Travels*; *Nile's Register*, Oct. 12, 1816, p. 107; *Western Sun*, Oct. 5, Nov. 9, 1816.

⁶⁷ *Indiana Centinel*, Oct. 31, 1819.

⁶⁸ Esarey, L., *Indiana Banking*, p. 223 ff.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 224.

were further complicated by replevin laws, which threw hindrances in the way of creditors to prevent their collecting from debtors.⁶⁹

After the government and the United States Bank refused to accept anything but specie and United States Bank notes, a farmer wishing to pay for his land had to have this kind of money to pay his annual installment on his land. But where was he to get either? Both were very scarce in the West. When the farmer sold his produce, he had to accept the various issues of paper money then in circulation, or the "shin plasters" issued by the merchants. If he did accept this paper for his produce he could not pay for his land with it, and neither could he take it to a bank and exchange it at par, either for specie or for United States Bank notes, because State bank notes were greatly at a discount in 1819.⁷⁰ The debtors were really in an aggravating and embarrassing position. They laid a goodly share of the blame on the United States Bank. The State constitution of 1816 forbade that bank from having branches in Indiana.⁷¹ In this opposition the people were led by the politicians, about all of whom were personally interested in the new State bank.⁷² If the debtors could not make their final payment for their land, it would be forfeited to the government. Such condition, according to Governor Jonathan Jennings, would afford "commensurate opportunities for speculation for those who can command funds which are receivable, unless Congress shall interfere in their behalf."⁷³ If land could be paid for only at a heavy discount on the money which the farmers were compelled to accept for their produce, this discount, the governor said, was "an indirect but exorbitant tax on the farmer." He said that there were two reasons for this condition:

(1) There was a mere regulation adopted to the interest of the stockholders of the national bank, referring to the fact that this bank, in 1818, refused after June 30, 1818, to accept any money except its own notes and specie.

(2) The national bank was aided in this purpose by the Treasury Department, which refused to accept from the debtors anything but specie and currency of the national bank. Undoubtedly the governor was expressing the general view of the West at *that* time, 1818-1819. The westerners did not realize that their own bad bank-

⁶⁹ Catterall, R. C. H., *Second Bank of United States*, 60-64, 83.

⁷⁰ Catterall, R. C. H., *Second Bank of United States*, p. 454.

⁷¹ Poore, B. P., *Constitutions*, I, p. 509.

⁷² Esarey, L., *Indiana Banking*, p. 226.

⁷³ *Nile's Register, Supplement*, XV, p. 77.

ing and excessive speculation were responsible for this depressing economic condition.

The State legislature came to the aid of the debtors, and legislated for their benefit. The amount of personal property exempted from sale, under execution for debt, was considerably enlarged.⁷⁴ A few days later the General Assembly passed an act, to go into effect in January, 1819, compelling the creditor to accept the paper of the State bank and its branches and of all other chartered banks whose money was "current with the merchants" at the time, or, should the creditor refuse to accept it at par, the debtor should have a stay of execution for one year. Obviously this was partial to the debtor, entirely unfair to the creditor, a political job, and, under less distressing conditions, would have appeared a disgrace upon the General Assembly.⁷⁵ In the State senate, all members except one, voted for the measure, and this one represented border counties where land purchasers had not yet been oppressed by the necessity of paying the final installments on their lands.⁷⁶

Such legislation soon raised opposition on the part of certain classes, for it was evident that the law passed for the relief of debtors was aimed as much for the relief of the State bank and its branches as for the relief of debtors. A meeting of citizens was called, at Salem, in Washington county, and resolutions were adopted at the meeting condemning the banking system of the State as injurious and dangerous, and that its influence was "already too prevalent in our legislative councils."⁷⁷ The incoming settlers opposed the State bank, because they suffered more from it than other people. As the settlers came in from the East, they stopped at the State bank branch at Brookville and exchanged their specie and United States Bank notes, etc., for State bank notes, not knowing that the latter would be discounted when passed at some distant town.⁷⁸

The people and editors in the West in 1819 began to awaken from their dream and delusion. One Western editor wrote:

"There is one cause in the western country which has operated very powerfully in producing the present state of things, and which must continue to operate in the same way: I mean, speculations in the public lands. Capitalists, both real and fictitious, have engaged very extensively

⁷⁴ *Laws of Indiana, 1818-1819*, p. 87.

⁷⁵ *Laws of Indiana*, p. 68.

⁷⁶ *Senate Journal, Indiana, 1818-1819*, p. 86.

⁷⁷ *Western Sun*, June 7, 1819.

⁷⁸ *Esarey, Indiana Banking*, p. 234.

in this business. The banks have conspired with the Government to promote; the former by lending money to the speculators, and the latter by this wretched system of selling the lands on credit. Nearly all the money which is paid, goes over the mountains; the Government has but little use for it in the western country.⁷⁹

This last grievance was a very real one, and was felt by all. Many of the immigrants brought good money with them to pay for the lands. The government, having little need for the money in the West, and having no branch of the United States Bank in Indiana in which to deposit the land revenues, the money received for lands was taken to the Eastern banks for deposit. At the beginning of 1819 the State bank of Indiana at Vincennes petitioned the Secretary of the United States Treasury asking that the revenues of the Vincennes land office be deposited in the bank there. The petition stated:

"That your memorialists are strongly of opinion, that the citizens of this state have a right to the use of the public moneys raised within this State, when they are not wanted by the Government, an opinion in which they believe they are seconded by the unanimous voice of their fellow citizens of this State."⁸⁰

The petition was granted, but the last deposit was made in June, 1820, because the bank failed to meet its drafts.⁸¹

When the General Assembly met in the winter of 1819, it had to struggle with the distressing conditions. The popular opposition which had shown itself to the State bank had been active, and now appeared in the General Assembly, 1819-1820. The previous General Assembly had ordered that all county and State collectors of revenue should collect the bills of the State banks and of about all the State and private banks of the surrounding States as long as such paper passed current in the State. The notes of the United States Bank were not included in the list.⁸² During the year 1819 it was found that scarcely any of the bills passed current, so the new General Assembly of 1819-1820, repealed the former act, and passed an act authorizing the collectors to accept notes of "the banks of the United States or its branches, or in the notes of the chartered banks of this State, or their branches, or any of the State banks and branches of other States, that passed at par within this State."⁸³

⁷⁹ *Nile's Register*, Sept. 4, 1819, p. 10.

⁸⁰ *State Papers*, 17 Cong. Sess. 1, Doc. 66, p. 47.

⁸¹ Esarey, *Indiana Banking*, p. 232.

⁸² *Laws of Indiana*, 1818, p. 142.

⁸³ *Laws of Indiana*, 1819-1820, p. 159.

Thus the United States Bank, by the end of 1819, was coming into favor in Indiana. The State election of 1820 was conducted upon the question as to whether the State bank should be compelled to redeem its notes or not. Only a few friends of the State bank were returned to the General Assembly.⁸⁴

The General Assembly also passed one of those ingenious laws for the "relief of debtors." By this act, if a debtor could not meet his obligations, the sheriff should provide for "an inquest of five respectable freeholders," who should estimate the value of the property of the debtor whose property was to be sold under execution. No property was to be sold "for less than two-thirds of the returned value of the inquest." If the property would not sell for at least two-thirds of its assessed value, there should be a stay of execution for one year. It is obvious that in a country where nearly all the people were debtors, it would be impossible to get "five respectable freeholders who would assess the property low enough that it would find a purchaser even at two-thirds its assessed value.

Congress also came to the relief of the debtors. In fact, relief acts of some kind had passed Congress nearly every year since lands were first put on sale in Indiana. In 1818, 1819, and 1820 relief acts were passed for the relief of debtors. By these acts, debtors whose lands were subject to forfeiture, were given an extension of credit for one year, if the holding did not exceed 640 acres. The final period, at the end of which forfeiture of land for non-payment should take place, was extended by the last of these acts, to March 31, 1821.⁸⁵

All the factors mentioned by the various writers quoted possibly were instrumental in bringing this distressing condition upon the West in 1819. Lack of good money; extravagant living; excessive buying from the East; the drain of money from the West through the land offices; excessive speculations in lands and town property; bad and reckless banking; the restrictions placed by the United States Bank and by the Secretary of the Treasury on what money would be received at the branch banks and at the land offices. All these undoubtedly operated in bringing disaster to business and farming in the West. But one factor, though perhaps not so distinct, was really above all other causes, and yet related to them. The credit system had been abused. Banks and individuals would loan money without sufficient security, on investments that were not likely to pay

⁸⁴ Esarey, L., *Indiana Banking*, p. 234.

⁸⁵ Treat, P. J., *National Land System*.

dividends. The government would give four years' credit to land purchasers, and this unduly encouraged credit in all financial operations. As a result, the greater part of the people in the West were in debt, and could not meet their obligations, as the amount of acceptable money available became less and less. By December 31, 1820, the total indebtedness at the land offices in Indiana was \$2,214,168.63, which amounted to a per capita indebtedness of \$15 to the United States Government alone, in a population of 147,178.⁸⁶ This was a great indebtedness in a land where money was so scarce. Probably this indebtedness was not more than half of the entire indebtedness in the State.

Twenty years of the credit system in its operations on the public land sales had shown its incompetency. It had worked disastrously to the Western people. In 1820 Congress passed an act establishing a new system of land sales. Treat, in speaking of the act, said it "was the most important piece of land legislation since the Congress of the Confederation laid down the principle of the American land system in 1785." Credit was abolished, and the minimum price was reduced from \$2 to \$1.25 per acre. After July 1, 1820, cash must be paid for land, and land could be purchased in tracts as small as eighty acres.⁸⁷

With credit on lands abolished, and speculation stopped of necessity, the country could only wait for better times. As David Brown, the new president of the Bank at Vincennes, wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury, April 5, 1821: "It will be a gradual work, and a steady perseverance will accomplish it."⁸⁸ The new land system helped in this, for it required that prospective purchasers should bring their money into the West with them. The General Land Office, too, arranged to deposit the money for the public land sales in the various State and private banks throughout the West, so that it might enlarge the amount of much-needed money.⁸⁹ The mania for selling town lots subsided, and men gave up their dreams of immediate wealth, for more sober considerations.⁹⁰ The West was beginning to recover from its awful delirium.

GROWTH OF INDIANA DURING THE DEPRESSION

By the beginning of 1819 the number of counties had been raised to thirty where five years before there had been only one-third as

⁸⁶ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, III, p. 561.

⁸⁷ Treat, P. J., *National Land System*.

⁸⁸ *State Papers*, 17 Cong. Sess. 17, Doc. 66, p. 54.

⁸⁹ *Ibid* Doc. 66.

⁹⁰ Thwalte, R. G., *Early Western Travels*, IX, p. 217.

many. During the next year, in spite of the depression, settlements and land sales continued, but less rapidly than before. Indiana had a bright outlook for expansion northward, and for the expansion of trade on the Ohio. The steamboat had just been improved so that it now became practicable on the western rivers. By 1818 there were thirty-one steamboats on the Mississippi and its tributaries, "in the full tide of success," and thirty more were being built.⁹¹ Goods could be brought from New Orleans to Vincennes for \$4 per hundred, and from Pittsburg for \$1. On the other hand, produce could be shipped to New Orleans for \$1 per hundred and to Pittsburg for \$3. Because of this arrangement of freight rates most of the clothing and other necessities from the East were hauled to Pittsburg and shipped down the Ohio, and up its branches to the north. Sugar and coffee were obtained at New Orleans in exchange for corn, whiskey, flour, pork, and beef.⁹² Before steamboats were introduced on these rivers, it was almost impossible to ship bulky goods up the Mississippi from New Orleans, or up the Ohio to Pittsburg. With this advantage numerous little towns along the Ohio and Wabash soon began to lift up their heads.

On the north, settlements had been encroaching upon the Indian country, and the Indians had expressed a desire to cede some lands.⁹³ In conformity with this desire, United States commissioners met the Indians in October, 1818, and obtained large cessions. The Delawares gave up all claim in the State, except that they retained the right to use their improvements for three years. They were to receive a home beyond the Mississippi. The Weas gave up all claims in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, except a tract about seven miles square on the Wabash, just above the mouth of Raccoon creek. The Miamis gave up all land south of the Wabash and Maumee, except some reservations, as follows: (1) adjoining the Wabash, from the mouth of Salamonie river west to the mouth of Eel river; south from the mouths of these rivers a distance equal to the distance between them. (2) Thorntown Reserve, ten miles square on Sugar Tree creek. (3) Four other reservations from two to ten miles square on the Wabash and Salamonie rivers; (4) and a great many small individual grants. The Pottawattomies gave up claim to all south of the Wabash, and to the strip north of the Wabash, bounded by that river, by the Vermillion; by the Tippecanoe, and by a line drawn practically parallel to the Wabash from two points on the

⁹¹ David Thomas's, *Travels*, p. 61, 272.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁹³ *Nile's Register*, Feb. 8, 1817, p. 400.

other two rivers, the points being twenty-five miles up from the mouths of the rivers. With the exception of the Miami reserves, these treaties gave up to the whites all the central part of the State.⁹⁴ The treaties had not yet been ratified, when in the first part of 1819, the General Assembly organized two new counties on the border, Owen and Fayette.⁹⁵

A decade had seen many changes in Indiana. It began with Tecumtha's conspiracy to prevent further advances of the whites. The hostilities which were thus precipitated lasted till the middle of 1814 on the eastern border, and till the end of 1815 on the Wabash. During this period continued migration to Indiana consolidated the territory in the older regions and increased population in 1814 and 1815 enabled the territory to become a State in 1816. As hostilities lessened, increased immigration, excessive speculation, reckless banking, and the credit system, began to affect the economic situation. These causes were stimulated in 1816 when Indiana became a State, and the middle Wabash region began to be peopled. The climax of these operations came in the form of the financial depression of 1819. There were in 1819 thirty counties, extensive farming lands, and many new towns, more or less prosperous. The settlements arranged themselves in the form of a crescent, with the tips in Randolph and Vigo counties, and the center at the capital, Corydon. The next decade was to see the filling in of the rich country between the two tips of the crescent, and the moving to the new capital at Indianapolis. With the cession of the Indians in 1818 of the central part of the State, settlers began rapidly to move toward the interior. Hardly had the treaties been signed when Jacob Whetzel cut the famous "Whetzel Trace" inland from Brookville to the White river, below the future site of Indianapolis.⁹⁶ In 1820 Indianapolis was located,⁹⁷ and five years later the General Assembly met for the first time in the new capital. Settlers pushed up the branches of the Wabash, and overland bound for the heart of the land. A new commonwealth was coming into its prime where only a few years before had been nothing but wilderness, savage beasts, and Indiana.

⁹⁴ *United States Statutes*, VII, p. 185 ff.

⁹⁵ *Laws of Indiana*, 1818-1819, p. 11.

⁹⁶ Banta, D. D., *Johnson County*, (1881), p. 9 ff.

⁹⁷ See "Tipton's Journal" on locating capital, *Indiana Magazine of History*, I. pp. 9-15; pp. 74-79.

In 1784, Philip Freneau, prophetic of what was to be, penned the following stanzas:

"To western woods and lonely plains,
Palamon from the crowd departs,
Where Nature's wildest genius reigns,
What wonders there shall Freedom show,
What mighty States successive grow!

* * *

What charming scenes attract the eye
On wild Ohio's savage stream!

* * *

From these fair plains, these rural seats,
So long concealed, so lately known,
The unsocial Indian afar retreats,
To make some other clime his own,
Whither other streams, less pleasing, flow,
And darker forests round him grow."

THE OLD CHICAGO ROAD

By JESSE SETLINGTON BIRCH

(Read at an old settlers' meeting in Fowler, Ind., August 26, 1914)

The first roads in Benton county, like those in all new countries, were the shortest that could be laid out between given points, wet impassable places and creek fordings being taken into consideration. Some landmark serves as a guide when the trails crossed. The county was marked by Indian trails that were nobody knew how old and led no white man knew where. As the county became more thickly settled section lines and surveys were followed.

Many State roads were established, three of which, the Chicago, Lafayette and Michigan City roads, crossed Benton county. Only a brief description of the two latter roads is here given.

The Lafayette road was established by the General Assembly of 1840. It was surveyed by Henry Robertson and was an extension of the road from Lafayette to Sugar Grove, as approved by an act, February 7, 1835; to Parish Grove and there to intersect the Chicago-Vincennes road as near the grove as possible. From the east line of the country to Parish Grove this road followed the "Old Army Trail," the trail over which Gen. Walker marched government troops in 1832, to take part in the "Black Hawk" war in Illinois. When the grove was reached Gen. Walker was met by a courier who informed him that the Indians had been pacified. The troops returned along the same trail.

The Michigan City road was surveyed by Henry Robertson in 1841. It was to have run from Michigan City, Ind., to St. Louis, Mo. At that time Michigan City was a rival of Chicago and wanted the road in order to control the trade in this territory. How far north or south of Oxford the survey was made we do not know. A portion of it is still known in Oxford as the Michigan Road and lies east of the Lake Erie & Western railroad station. The swamps between Michigan City and the rich territory to the south and west were so numerous that the road was impracticable. Michigan City did not recover from the panic of 1837, so Chicago passed her in the race for commercial supremacy.

The Chicago road, the subject of this sketch, was established

at an early date. From the records of the acts of the General Assembly and other sources this road must have been formed by the junction at or near Williamsport (Warren county), of the State road extended in 1830, from Indianapolis through Crawfordsville to Williamsport, thence to the State line near Raub, thence to Chicago; and the road running from Vincennes through Gallatin, (Parke county), Covington, Attica and to Lafayette, as shown on a Mitchell map of 1834. The road entered Benton county south of Boswell and followed what is now the Williamsport and Boswell gravel road from the county line to Boswell. At the county line was a settlement called Petersburg, which consisted of a general store, blacksmith shop and four or five residences. The business portion was in Benton county and the residence portion in Warren county. In the early 60's the Bunnell Bros. kept the general store. They sold to James A. McKnight and John Spies. When the Lake Erie & Western railway was built and Boswell platted they moved their stock to that place. The Chicago road was intersected by the Lafayette road about a mile south of Parish Grove. At the intersection Thomas Torrence kept a tavern.

In the grove was another tavern kept by Robert Alexander. The Alexander tavern was the most noted one on the Chicago road. Here was toddy and a frontier welcome for the traveler, homeseeker, or hunter. Many of the latter came to hunt deer, wild turkeys, prairie chickens and quail. In the spring and autumn myriads of wild geese and ducks were to be seen and the heavens were darkened by flocks of wild pigeons. The tavern was a modest affair. There were several bed rooms, the big dining-room, and the indispensable bar-room where the men loafed. Around the big fireplace on a cold night mine host entertained his guests with the traditions of the famed grove and of the Indians who made it their home. There were tales of those lost on the prairie, the dreaded prairie fire, and the bravery and self-denial of the early pioneers. The grove was a favorite camping place, as it afforded shelter in time of storms, furnished wood for the camp fires and close to the tavern was a spring of pure cold water. In the 40's and 50's there was a constant stream of "prairie schooners" over this road. Through Benton county it wound over the broad prairie broken only by Parish and Sugar groves, while farther to the north it led through bog and fen. The swift running deer often crossed the path and the gaunt wolf sniffed the evening meal and with his echoing howls called his ever hungry comrades. There were tragedies on the old Chicago road. Many an emigrant or some member of his

family sickened and died and found a resting place in an unmarked grave along its way.

The Chicago Road was a historic thoroughfare in its time, it being the main artery of communication for travel from Indianapolis and Vincennes to the thriving city on the lake. When Chicago became a live stock market thousands of cattle and horses were driven over it. In places it was from thirty to forty rods wide, the teamsters leaving the deeply worn places to find better footing, especially during a wet time. The trail could be followed by the timothy and blue grass that grew along the way, having been started from seed that had been dropped by teamsters going to and from Chicago, or the land hunters from Ohio, Kentucky and Virginia on their way to the Northwest. In the fall many hauled apples from Southern Indiana to Chicago and many were the small boys who begged pennies from their mothers to buy the luscious fruit. Evidence of this old trail still remains, the beaten path in places being easily discernable across the fields.

At the several stopping places taverns were to be found for the accommodation of the travelers. The numbers and the frontier sociability at these places did much to soften the asperities of travel especially during inclement weather. After Parish Grove was passed going north the following were the stopping places: Sumner's Grove, Bunkum, Buckhorn Tavern, Beaver Creek, Big Spring, Mommence, Yellow Head Point, Blue Island, Chicago. The trip required from six to eight days, all depending upon the condition of the roads and streams, the latter being forded. This road was abandoned in 1865 or 1866.

The Benton county pioneers made the trip to Chicago in companies sometimes ten to twelve in number. The wagons were usually drawn by oxen, two yoke to a wagon. In the fall when the roads were good they often drove two teams of horses to a wagon and when the city was reached one of the teams was sold. Travel to the south on this road was mostly to Crawfordsville, where the land office was located, or to the Yountsville woolen mills close by.

There are still a few living in the county who went to and fro over the old Chicago Road, and as they journeyed along the winding trail watched the days go over the Western plains.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY STARTER FOR MUSEUM

THE STEVENS COLLECTION

For the purpose of starting a museum of Indiana History at Indiana University, Warder W. Stevens recently gave to the University a valuable and extensive collection of materials illustrating pioneer life in the State.

The collection includes relics from nearly all fields of pioneer activity. There is a fully equipped conestoga wagon, one of the real old Prairie Schooners; there are several plows, including the wooden, wooden moldboard, jumping shovel, home-made double shovel, and others, with the single and double-trees to match; there are cradles, sickles, a thresher, a cotton gin, a hominy mill, a corncracker, a feed cutter, and many other relics to illustrate this phase of life; there are spider skillets, ovens for baking corn pones, pewter and wooden table ware, a crane for cooking in the fireplace, and a full assortment of what the old sales bills would call "household and kitchen furniture too numerous to mention"; there is a loom, spinning wheels, reels, winding blades and some things along this line for which I have no names at present; there are flintlock, percussion caps, rifled and smooth-bore guns with an assortment of bowie knives, pistols and revolvers.

The following brief article written by the donor as he was waiting for a train will convey some idea of the collection and the sentiment that makes such things dear to the sons and daughters of the pioneers.—Ed.

All of us, in a greater or less degree, find pleasure in comparing the present with the past in order that we may note the rapid strides that have been made along all industrial and educational lines since the days of our forefathers. We look back over a brief life's space and are wrapt in wonderment as we contemplate the rapid developments and achievements of a hustling, bustling people along every walk of life. We listen to the stories of miraculous accomplishments, but we fail to catch onto the spirit of the age fully, until an object lesson is placed before our eyes, which enables us, at a glance, to fully realize that we stand in the midst of a rapidly developing age with possibilities beyond all power of conception. For example, we can scarcely realize that only a few years since there was no telephone, or that no farther back than 1898 there was but one concern on the continent that had begun the manufacture of the automobile. What an object lesson in rapid development it would be to place that first horseless carriage alongside one of the most complete models of the present day!

I am asked to give a brief account of the collection of relics recently turned over to Indiana University as a nucleus that is bound to grow until it will at no distant day become a very interesting and instructive feature of this great seat of learning in Indiana. The collector, like the specialist along all progressive lines, is probably born, not made. Early in life most all of us show some peculiar bent of mind that has much to do in shaping our destiny of life's **work**. As I now look back over a period of more than three score years it is plain to be seen that as a boy I had a *penchant* for the collection of old "traps" and but for this love of preserving relics of various kinds many of the interesting things this little collection contains would have been missing, as it would now be impossible to duplicate them, except by model or imitation.

The several thousand pieces of the prehistoric section were almost all picked up in Southern Indiana, mostly in Washington county. Whenever there was an idle day, or a day off from regular duty or occupation, it was a great pleasure to roam the hills and valleys in search of the old-time Indian village or camping ground, or in digging into the monument of the mound builders, in search of those mute specimens of handicraft that told of a people that in other years or ages existed and flourished in our land. In many ways it is left for the imagination to picture out where these people originally came from, how they employed their time and existed or what was the cause of their fading away from the earth's surface. Not infrequently a whole bunch of stone hoes, spear points, axes, tomahawks or arrows would be unearthed near a spot where burned stones, flint chips and a nearby spring showed that some time in the remote past there existed a village of Red Men or the mound builder. The scattered finds were pieces lost by the hunter in the underbrush while in pursuit of game. As a matter of course all these finds are becoming scarce as the years go by and the country is being cleaned up and put under cultivation. The most valuable finds were always made along the large rivers and streams where not only hunting was best, but fishing could be indulged in with greatest success. Bone fish hooks are still to be found in some places along the Ohio river where the larger Indian villages were located.

As one looks at the wooden mould board plow it hardly seems possible that they could ever have been used successfully by the husbandman in breaking up new lands, full of grubs and roots. But they were a decided improvement over the forked stick, its immediate predecessor. The "bar share" came first in the order of in-

vention, it being the flat share, with wooden mould-board attachment, fastened to the plow stock or frame with wooden pins, bolts for such purpose not having as yet come into general use. The pair of wooden double-trees, now over a century old, show to what straights the farmer of that day was compelled to resort in order to get afield with team and plow to cultivate the land. Almost every farmer was then a sort of Jack-at-all-trades. He manufactured his own harness from leather of his own tanning, and such farm implements as were used were home products. No such thing as a plow or wagon factory was to be found anywhere in the country, especially in the newly settled portions. Hoes, spading forks, nails, knives and forks, spoons and the like were manufactured by the blacksmith, who burned the charcoal that was used in the forge of the shop.

But to go back to the plows, the "Carey" was successor to the bar-share pattern. It was made with an upright iron projection extending above the flat bar, finished with a smaller wooden mould-board. This plow came into use in Indiana about 1815. The earliest settlers, about 1800, located in the southern tier of counties, were content with the bar share. The "Daniel Webster" plow came into use about 1835, the share and mould board being made of unwrought and cast iron. In a remodeled form it was known as the "Peacock" plow, a man by that name back East, probably in Pennsylvania, having first made and put it upon the market. The mould-board was cast in the furnaces up in Pennsylvania and shipped down the Ohio on rafts or flat boats to destination, where they were fitted to plow stocks by the wagon-wright or blacksmith, the latter not infrequently being able to work in both iron and wood successfully. About the year 1850 the "Rounder" came into use, a plow that had share and mould all in one solid piece, and made of steel, the first plow made that would scour in light, loose soils. They were used in cultivating corn, running the bar side next to the row till last cultivating when the earth was thrown up against the corn. The jumping shovel was its successor in corn cultivation, as well as in breaking up new land. The double shovel cultivator with wooden frame was first made and used along in the 50's.

Spinning wheels, large and small, were to be found in every well-furnished home, home-made in most instances, and kept buzzing by the housewife in manufacture of thread and yarn to be used in making the homespun linen, jeans and flannels that was worked up into wearing apparel for the entire family.

The very first settlers were content with cabins with puncheon

floors and doors, but a little later on the whipsaw was introduced to make such boards as were necessary in home building. In this collection is a saw brought into Washington county about 1807 and used for a number of years. A poplar log, the yellow, soft variety, was hewn square, and then mounted upon some sort of trestle about seven feet above the ground. On top it was lined off with blue dye or poke-berry juice, the lines being spaced according to the thickness of lumber or joists desired. One sawyer was located on top of the log and another underneath, and with every downward stroke of the saw a cut into the timber was made. Two good sawyers would thus cut about two hundred feet per day. The last time the saw in this collection was used was on exhibition display at a Granger picnic near Salem in 1876, when Bluejeans Williams was a candidate for Governor, who was top sawyer, and a man named Morris pulled at the handle underneath. What a contrast there is between this saw, considered a great invention a century ago, and the immense sawmill plants in the lumber camps of the country where lumber by the thousands of feet are turned out every hour of the day.

The old-time trundle bed, upon which John Hay, the celebrated author and statesman, slept during his boyhood days in Salem, is a relic every Hoosier should feel proud of. The dog-wood glut or wedge, unquestionably made by Lincoln's hands during his youthful days in Southern Indiana, when he earned his name as the "Rail Splitter" President, is one of the interesting pieces of this collection.

The various items in this collection are carded and briefly described, and when all are properly arranged in cases will no doubt be interesting to students of the University who care to compare the present with the past. And it is to be hoped that this display may induce others who have old-time relics or heirlooms of an interesting nature to deposit same with the University, and that in time a very interesting historical museum may be collected.

WARDER W. STEVENS.

MINOR NOTICES

JOHN E. LAMB

THE HON. JOHN E. LAMB of Terre Haute, Indiana, died August 23, 1914. Mr. Lamb was the son of Michael and Katherine (McGovern) Lamb, both of whom were born in Ireland. He resided in Terre Haute throughout his entire life. When a young man he studied law in the office of Voorhees & Carlton, and was admitted to practice in 1874. At the time of his death, he was a member of the law firm of Lamb, Beasley, Douthitt & Crawford.

During the whole of his mature period, Mr. Lamb was an active leader in the Democratic party. He was appointed prosecuting attorney for the judicial district, including the counties of Vigo and Sullivan, in 1875 to fill a vacancy, and was elected to the same office in 1876. In 1880, and also in 1888, his name appeared on the Democratic ticket as a candidate for presidential elector. In 1882, he was elected to represent his congressional district in the national House of Representatives. He was a candidate for re-election in 1884 but was defeated. In 1886, he was again nominated, but again suffered defeat. He served his party as a delegate in several national conventions, including those of 1896 and 1912, presiding at one session of the latter convention.

Mr. Lamb was united in marriage to Esther, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kent, in 1890. One son, John Kent Lamb, was born in 1902. The widow and son survive the deceased.

The following letter was among those received by Mrs. Lamb after the death of her husband:

Department of State, Washington, Aug. 24.

My Dear Mrs. Lamb:—

I wired my sympathy last night as soon as I received the sad news of Mr. Lamb's death. It occurs to me that in this dark hour it may lighten your burden of sorrow to know that for more than a year the President has held the office of ambassador to Mexico for Mr. Lamb—the appointment only awaiting the restoration of peace in that country.

It is a special disappointment to us that Mr. Lamb did not live long enough to receive this merited recognition of his worth and political

services. Vice-President Marshall and Senators Kern and Shively will, I know, share this disappointment. Again expressing condolence,

I am very truly yours,

W. J. BRYAN.

ADAM HEIMBERGER

ADAM HEIMBERGER, a prominent citizen of New Albany and a widely known Indiana Democrat, died September 21 at his home. He was the Democratic candidate for secretary of State in 1900, and was the candidate on the Democratic State ticket for clerk of the Supreme Court in 1902. Mr. Heimberger was prominent in the Evangelical Church and was district treasurer of the Indiana district of the Evangelical Synod of North America. He was president of the board of trustees of the Indiana Hospital for the Insane in Indianapolis and had served as city controller of New Albany. Mr. Heimberger was a past exalted ruler of New Albany Lodge of Elks and also was a member of the Masonic, Knights of Pythias and Modern Woodmen fraternities. He was 54 years old and was a native of this city. His widow and a son, Henry E. Heimberger, survive him.

DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE annual conference of the D. A. R., which was held at Fort Wayne this year, was attended by a larger number of delegates than have ever before been registered at the State gathering of the D. A. R. in Indiana.

The State organization now numbers fifty-four chapters with a total of 2,582 members, in addition to 90 members-at-large.

That the Indiana State society of Daughters of the American Revolution is having a steady and substantial growth was shown by the report of the state regent, Mrs. Frances H. Robertson, submitted Wednesday morning.

Mrs. Robertson stated that during her three years' regency there had been an addition of 264 new members, of whom more than one-third were members of newly-organized chapters of the year 1913-1914 at Gary, Hanover, Bourbon and New Harmony.

The State organization has lost two chapters and gained five. Attempts have been made to interest Bluffton, Angola, Monticello and Hartford City in forming chapters but nothing definite has as yet been done. Chapters can be formed if the State regent will visit the towns and further arouse interest.

Mrs. Robertson expressed her appreciation of the always able

and cordial support afforded her by her co-workers and the program committee. She urged greater consideration of the home, of husband and of children as upon them depend the safety and stability of the nation. "Train your sons to be good and patriotic citizens and your daughters to be homemakers with their highest ambition to be queen of a home and mother of children," urged the regent. That her remarks met with approval was shown by a burst of applause.

Mrs. Robertson's interesting report was a mingling of statistical facts, historical incidents and poetic thought.

"The hardest thing a regent has to contend with is that women want to hold office. Every office carries its responsibility of some duty, however, and no member of a chapter is without some sort of work to do if she carries out the thought and the aim of the society. If women desire to help their chapters and their chapter regents they can do no two things better than to be present at all meetings and be prompt in attendance.

Mrs. Robertson greatly deplored the entrance of "politics" into the national organization and gave as a comparison the great work of the W. C. T. U., which is accomplishing so much without quarreling and quibbling. An announcement of the candidacy of Mrs. G. J. Guernsey, of Kansas, for the office of president-general of the national society and parts of her platform were read and the State regent heartily endorsed such planks as she read as coincident with her own ideas of real progress and the highest purpose of both national and State societies.

The chief address of the program was given by Mrs. Charles W. Bassett, of Baltimore, Md., who was one of the first visitors to arrive. Mrs. Bassett is historian general for the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and with her mother and sisters were among the founders of the society, which is not yet a quarter of a century old. But in spite of the many things Mrs. Bassett has done and is doing, for she is a farmer, is president of the Woman's Exchange in Baltimore—with over two hundred consigners weekly—has a home with her husband and daughter to look after, she has enough enthusiasm left to scatter at every meeting or convention of the D. A. R. she attends.

Owing to the prominence of Mrs. Bassett in the national society of the organization, her address was anticipated with unusual interest and the auditorium was filled with an audience of men and women whose attention was gripped by the force and inspiring con-

tent of her address and who were touched by the charm of her very evident natural and sincere personality.

Early in her address Mrs. Bassett referred to the Bible story of the three stewards, remarking of the two who did something that their reply to the Master was in fourteen words each, while the one who hid his talent and laid it away took fifty-two words to make his statement about himself. Without pursuing the analogy further Mrs. Bassett asked concerning the work of the past, if it is not greater to create than to examine and report. In that way then can the work of the spirit that actuated the heroes of the revolution and their immediate descendants be preserved and cultivated in the hearts of the present and future generations? This query, put by Mrs. Bassett was enlarged upon as she gave remarkable as well as interesting facts and suggestions. She said patriotism is not something to be carried out by societies organized to perpetuate the memories of the men and women who laid the foundation of this great republic but is rather to instill a regard for the spirit of self sacrifice which was a dominant trait in the character of the heroes, men or women, of the early years of this country.

Mrs. Bassett urged the preservation of historical records and told of many documents of value that had been brought from Salvation Army piles of waste paper where they had been consigned by men and women who in their housecleaning efforts from time to time had "cleared out the old rubbish." Mrs. Bassett also talked of the destruction of old historic places, landmarks, alteration of names of streets, occupation of buildings, even of churches, commercialized as places of business and referred to the preservation of beautiful and sacred Mt. Vernon through the efforts of a woman of North Carolina. Referring to the admiration often given in extravagant praise to old historic spots abroad and the familiarity many Americans have with the "old country," Mrs. Bassett asked, "Isn't our history picturesque; hasn't this country any romance?" The price of the peace we enjoy was the bloodshed of thousands of brave men. To forget is to be ungrateful for our blessings.

Mrs. Bassett praised the western country and coincident with that part of her address urged that Indiana should have written and published a history of herself and a copy be sent to the National Society of D. A. R. Mrs. Bassett referred to the idiomatic speech of Bret Harte—as one example—of Whitcomb Riley as another, saying that the plea for one English speaking language was good but deploring the disappearance in records of things that have been a part of the character making and upbuilding of the people. Mrs.

Bassett is a believer in "family trees," even if the crop is sometimes a failure, in keeping records from generation to generation of birth, marriages, etc., and in instilling a regard and a respect for the family; for home and the love of liberty, the most priceless of blessings of the many with which this country is endowed.

The entire exercises of the session were extremely interesting and the musical features brought great applause.

Interest upon the choice of a design for a flag to be adopted by the conference with an idea of a further request of the state legislature to make this accepted design a State flag, had a setback unlooked for. It had been understood that Indiana had no flag, but one of the committee on investigation produced a copy of the Indiana banner or emblem, accepted by the legislature previous to Governor Mount's election, which she had recently received with a letter from the Secretary of State, L. G. Ellingham. The letter stated that this banner of the State was not called a flag, but was the official emblem used in connection with the State seal.

The matter of whether the State Conference of Daughters should adopt a design for a flag as their own insignia or adornment was postponed in the future.

Mrs. James B. Fowler, chairman of the committee on resolutions, read resolutions extending thanks to the local chapter, to the press, to various chairmen of committees, to the presiding officer, Mrs. Frances H. Robertson, for numerous courtesies, to musicians and others who lent aid and the consideration for delegates extended by the Anthony Hotel.

The conference was voted one of the most successful, as well as the largest in the history of the organization.

One of the most interesting features of the State Conference of the D. A. R. was a talk by Mrs. W. B. Neff, of Cleveland, who is chairman for the National Girl Homemakers of America. Mrs. Neff spoke without notes and so brimful is she of her work that statistics, word pictures and description of plans rolled from her lips almost faster than she could speak them. Mrs. Neff's talk was of compelling interest and her audience gave her flattering attention. In commenting upon the work of the branch of educational work which she represents, Mrs. Neff said that the divorce evil was in a measure the result of unprepared girls and young women to make the home what it should be. Eighty-five per cent. of the divorces secured are sought by women and sixty-seven per cent. of the eighty-five are sought with the excuse of lack of financial support. On the other hand, Mrs. Neff declared the cause of the

greater part of marital trouble to be the ignorance of the wife for domestic affairs. The majority of girls marry with no knowledge of cooking, sewing, planning, keeping things clean, saving "the pennies," mending or the hundred and one things a competent house-keeper knows about. The strong old Anglo-Saxon word, "help," used in early days of this country in the sense of employed household service has been lost to use just because of the incompetency of the girls employed to be that very thing, a "help" in the household. But the incompetency is not confined to those who can be obtained through the medium of the employment bureaus. They are found in the homes of the laborer, the artisan, the manufacturer, the millionaire. Now with the loss of life and the awful destruction going on in the European war, the American woman will become—in the words of an eminent writer—the "torch bearer of the world." The American woman must establish the standard. And yet, according to more statistics from Mrs. Neff in a long procession of employes of an industrial concern in Cleveland but one-tenth of them were Americans. That is but one example. The duty of America is to teach. So the work of the Girl Homemakers club is to educate the foreigners to be fitted to make the American home. In Cleveland the work has been taken up by the D. A. R. Society and similar work is being done in other organizations of the Daughters.

Reports on different phases of works of the society were given during the afternoon by Mrs. Newberry J. Howe on the reciprocity bureau, and Mrs. Harry V. Sheridan. The report on conservation by Mrs. M. C. Garber, another of welfare women and children by Mrs. Martha B. Hanna, who is state chairman and also a member of the national society's board of historians, and a talk on old trail roads by Mrs. W. W. Garr, on the Daughters' magazine, by Miss Mary Alice Warren, and report of the movement for children of the American Revolution, by Mrs. H. W. Moore, were other important subjects taken up for the day. A dinner at the Anthony and a reception given by the local chapter at the home of Mrs. Roberts in the evening were the social events of the day.

Mrs. Henry A. Beck, of Indianapolis, was the choice for the office of State regent and Mrs. John Lee Dinwiddie, of Fowler, was again chosen to represent Indiana as vice-president general.

Other State officers were elected without opposition to any candidate—Vice-regent, Miss Edna Donnell, of Greensburg; secretary, Miss Anna B. Sankey, Terre Haute; treasurer, Mrs. Otto Rott, Bloomington; historian, Miss Katherine McIlvain, Vincennes; audi-

tor, Mrs. Edna Felt, Huntington; chaplain, Mrs. E. C. Atkins, Indianapolis.

An invitation to hold the next conference in Terre Haute was read and accepted and the fifteenth annual meeting of the Daughters will be held in that city, October 10, 1915.

The selection of Mrs. Beck for the highest office of the State organization followed the nomination of Mrs. W. A. Cullop, of Vincennes, for the same honor and the immediate withdrawal of Mrs. Cullop as a candidate, owing to her receiving Thursday morning from Mrs. W. C. Story, president-general of the national society, a request to serve as corresponding secretary-general on the national board.

CHURCH HISTORY

WORK in this field of State church history is attracting increasing attention. Professor Sweet, of DePauw, is organizing the efforts of the Methodists along this line. Some of his graduate students are doing research work in this field. The district superintendents are assisting and the interest is reaching individual congregations. In such a large field there is no limit to the amount of work to be done.

The Presbyterians at their recent meeting in New Albany took steps looking toward systematic historical work.

The Catholic Church, the oldest of the Indiana churches, has valuable collections of records at Vincennes and Notre Dame which date back to the very beginning of Indiana history. That church can never be given its proper place in the history of the State until these sources are made available.

The history of other churches, such as the Baptists, Disciples, Congregational, Universalist, Shaker, and Friends, dates back a century and affords ample field for the historian. The great task in all this work is the collection of material.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

PROF. FRANCIS M. STALKER, of the Department of Education at the State Normal, is gathering some material on the history of our early schools. He is especially interested in the academies and seminaries. There has been a surprisingly large range of educational experience in the century of Indiana history. Any one possessing material relating to any of the early schools or school systems will confer a great favor on Professor Stalker by writing him concerning it.

HENRY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The semi-annual meeting of the society was held at Newcastle, October 29. During the forenoon session the president, W. H. Keesling, delivered his address, and Dr. J. W. White read a paper on "Old Time Memories."

After a dinner, served in the rooms of their building, Mrs. E. H. Bundy made a memorial address on the life of Charles S. Hernly, whose death was noticed in the last number of this magazine. An address by Mary Hannah Krout on "Hawaii Under the Flag," and a paper by W. R. Wilson on "County Examiners and County Superintendents of Henry County," finished the program as far as historical matter is concerned. Music was in evidence at every opportunity on the program. The society is now in its twenty-eighth year and thriving. W. H. Keesling is president and Lillian Chambers, secretary.

THE TIPPECANOE TRAIL

J. WESLEY WHICKER in the Attica Ledger-Press, August 14, 1914, published the results of some investigations he had recently made concerning the exact route of Harrison's army across Warren and Benton counties on the Tippecanoe campaign. Harrison feared an ambuscade. For that reason he crossed the Wabash at the site of the present town of Montezuma. He sent scouts to cut a road upon the east side of the Wabash, hoping to thus deceive the Indians if they intended an ambush. The feint in the direction of the Illinois towns was also made to disclose any forces hiding in the vicinity of Pine Creek. As stated above the little army crossed the Wabash at what is now Montezuma.

From this point they skirted the prairie. They detailed sixteen men as a guard to prevent an ambush from the river between the camp and the river. These sixteen men were deployed on each side of Pine creek nearly straight north from Williamsport and just about where the Williamsport road starts across the Pine creek bottoms in going to Kramer. The army skirted the prairie for the reason that in its march to the Battleground it could easily watch and guard the left flank of the army and the view of the prairie would prevent an ambush. There were many Indians along the river so the soldiers left the timber land of the Wabash well to their right as they moved northward. It took the soldiers two hours to cross the Wabash at Montezuma. They then followed near the banks with the army, taking their provisions in boats on

the river, to a point a little below the mouth of Coal creek, which is a little below the south line of Fountain county. Here on the banks of the river they built a fort as a base of supplies, sent forty men back to guard the women and children at Fort Harrison and left eight men to guard the fort. With the assistance of W. W. Porter and his wife and sons we were able to locate the site of this fort, which is on the Porter land. John C. Colett, at one time the state geologist of Indiana, a local historian of rare worth, had inspired Mr. Porter with a pride in local history. The Porters were thus able to show the remains of the corduroy roads made by the Harrison army through the swampy lands near their place. The soldiers crossed the Little Vermillion river just south of Eugene, at what is known as the "army ford" near the Shelby place. This was the principal camping ground of the Kickapoo Indians. After crossing the Vermillion river they went north to the prairie in the state of Illinois, south of Danville, crossing the Illinois line south of State Line. Two private soldiers of the army were buried in the Gopher Hill cemetery south of Marshfield. The trail can be plainly seen through the yard of a farmer who has carefully preserved it about a mile and a half northwest of the cemetery. They camped one night in the Round grove, now the property of Frank Goodwine of West Lebanon. There was a spring in this grove which never went dry and the grove was far out in the prairie. On their return trip two of the soldiers were buried in this grove. The grove can be plainly seen from Sloan or Hedrick. Cassius M. Clay said the soldiers got blue grass seed here and carried it back to Kentucky, from which came the Kentucky blue grass. From here they marched to the "army ford" of Pine creek above Brier's mill. On their return trip they camped one night there. On the northwest shore of the creek two of the soldiers died and were buried. There was a very large rock in the middle of the road one mile south of the Butler place known as the "army rock." It was a niggerhead and the largest niggerhead in Warren county. The trail led past the rock. A road supervisor, with little regard for local history, had Charley Burgeson break this rock into small particles with dynamite a few years ago.

Zachariah Cicott, who was born of an Indian mother and a French father, near Independence, and lived to be an old man in the neighborhood where he was born, led the Harrison army from the camp on the Wabash near Cayuga to the Battleground. The men who made the advance guard were under Dubois, the grandfather of the United States senator of the same name from Idaho.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

Travel and Description, 1765-1865; Vol. II, Bibliographical Series, Vol. IX, Collection of the Illinois State Historical Library, by SOLON JUSTUS BUCK, University of Illinois. Published by the Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield. pp. 514, 1914.

Dr. Buck has gathered a list of county histories, atlases, biographical collections and a list of Territorial and State laws, as well as a descriptive list of such books of travel and description as deal with Illinois and its history under the head of "Travel and Description." The author has 660 titles. The description of the books are brief, averaging about four to the page. The full titles are given together with a very brief note indicating the nature of the volume, the number of pages, the date and place of first publication and the number and date of later editions. By a system of key letters a number of libraries are also indicated where the books may be found. The titles are arranged in chronological order, beginning with 1765. An excellent index disarms any criticism of this arrangement by those who might prefer an alphabetical arrangement. The question of typography evidently was more troublesome and has not been so well handled.

In the field of county histories there are 463 entries. Here the arrangement is chronologically by counties. It is worth noting that no single library has as many as half the complete list. In the introduction to this section, the author has made some observations worth quoting. In discussing the incentive to such work he says, p. 255:

The great mass of county histories produced in the west during the last forty years has been the work of business enterprises pure and simple—an enterprise which finds its basis in human vanity; in the desire of the average middle-class American to see his name in print and to be able to read in a book glowing accounts of himself, his family, and his neighbors, their virtues, and their achievements.

Concerning their historical value he says, p. 257:

To the student with the critical ability, who knows what to accept and what to reject, they have a very considerable value. The probability of error is certainly no greater than in the Medieval Chronicles, and

much of the information which can be gleaned from them and which might otherwise escape the investigator can be verified from the more original sources to which they point the way.

Again on page 257 he says:

No historical library is doing its full duty which fails to collect and preserve, so far as possible, all books of this sort relating to parts of the territory which it attempts to cover. As time goes on and the people and conditions with which these books deal fade away into the remote past and as the books themselves become scarce and difficult to procure, the value of such a collection will be more and more apparent.

The last section is devoted to the Territorial and State laws. This part of the bibliography has no special interest to Indiana readers after 1808, when the Illinois Territory was set off from Indiana.

The volume is very useful to Indianians since nearly all travelers who did Illinois also included Indiana in their itineraries.

Daniel Webster, by FREDERICK AUSTIN OGG, Ph. D., Associate Professor of History in Simmons College, Boston, and Author of *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, *The Government of Europe*, Etc. Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs & Company, pp. 433, 1914.

DANIEL WEBSTER was chosen by Dr. Oberholtzer, editor of the series called "The American Crisis Biographics" as the subject for the nineteenth volume of the series. Professor Van Tyne, of Michigan University, had intended to write the volume but was compelled to give it up. The design of the volume is to give a new, brief, popular version of the story of Webster's life. Dr. Ogg has used only the easily accessible materials contained in the *Letters of Daniel Webster* published in 1902, and the eighteen volume edition of *Webster's Writings and Speeches*. There is no pretense of any search for new material, neither is there any new interpretations offered. As a plain, straightforward chronological story it is very well done. It is an interesting story all the way from the humble beginning in the New Hampshire hills to the equally simple funeral at Marshfield. The style of the author, though at times wordy, is usually plain and dignified. There is no attempt at rhetorical display, though the subject is one which easily lends itself to that kind of writing. A list of the chief events in his life chronologically arranged takes the place of an introduction. The book is neatly

made, has a good index and sufficient foot-notes for ordinary high-school purposes. For popular use or for high-school libraries it will be a useful little volume.

Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Vol. 17,
Edited by ALBERT WATKINS, Historian of the Society, Lincoln,
Nebraska, pp. 381, 1913.

There are twenty-five papers in the volume, eight of which deal with subjects local to Nebraska. There are six dealing with overland travel in the pioneer days, "A Tragedy of the Oregon Trail," by George W. Hansen; "The Oregon Recruit Expedition," by Albert Watkins; "Influence of Overland Travel on the Early Settlement of Nebraska," by H. G. Taylor; "First Steamboat Trial Trip Up the Missouri," by Albert Watkins; "Adventures on the Plains," by Dennis Farrell; "The Pathfinders," by Heman C. Smith, are some of the titles. Besides these there are several papers of a professional nature. A number of beautiful illustrations, taken chiefly from Maximilian's *Travels* add to the attractiveness of the volume.

Nebraska is very fortunate in being able to thus gather up her early, or pioneer, history from the lips of the pioneers themselves. No one who has not compared such stories as those contained in this volume with the best that historians can do can appreciate what is lost to history when the pioneers are gone.

THREE pamphlets, edited by THOMAS J. BROOKS, have lately been received by the Survey. One of these is a biography of Lewis Brooks, colonel of the Eightieth Indiana Volunteer Infantry. He was one of the early settlers of Martin county, living first at Mount Pleasant and later at Loogootee. His experiences as a merchant and flatboatman before the war are suggestive.

Another pamphlet of sixty-one pages contains the biographies of Thomas Jefferson Brooks, 1805-1882, and his family. The family history begins in the old home in Massachusetts in 1635 and extends down to the Indiana home in 1906. The old Brooks home was in Mount Pleasant, Martin county. At this place it is the custom of the descendants of the pioneer to gather occasionally in a family reunion. The third pamphlet, seventy-six pages, contains a description of one of these reunions held August 7, 1908, at Mount Pleasant by the Brooks and Houghton descendants.

The pamphlets are full of interesting bits of pioneer history,

business customs, home life, schools, churches, school teachers, and numerous other incidents of early development.

German "Atrocities" and International Law is the title of a sixteen-page pamphlet written by James G. McDonald, assistant professor of European history in Indiana University. The article is one of a series published by the Germanistic Society of Chicago to cultivate a pro-German sentiment concerning the war now going on in Europe.

MAJOR GEORGE ADAMS is the subject of a twenty-page biography written by George S. Katzenberger. It is reprinted from the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*. Adams was a soldier under Wayne and took part in the campaigns around Fort Wayne in 1793-1795. The author has included in his biography a good account of these campaigns. Portraits of General Harmar, General Wayne and General St. Clair, together with several other illustrations are given.

THE November *Bulletin of DePauw University* contains a brief but circumstantial history of the university by Irving Frederic Brown. DePauw, or Asbury as it was formerly called, opened its doors in September, 1839. It was extremely fortunate in having as its first president Bishop Matthew Simpson. His salary was placed at \$800 per year. Besides being president he was professor of mathematics and the natural sciences. There were eleven students. The curriculum was considered a very liberal one, especially for a church school. Emphasis was shifted just a little from the classics in the direction of English, public speaking, and modern history. The collegiate year was divided into two semesters of twenty-one weeks each. The book is an excellent little monograph.

"THE Recent Italian Elections" is the subject of a paper by Dr. Amos S. Hershey, in the February *American Political Science Review*. The writer, who witnessed some of the scenes, was particularly interested in the working of the new election law under which almost all Italian men are voters.

ONE of the most interesting booklets that has appeared recently in the field of Indiana history is *Historic New Harmony 1814-1914*, by Nora C. Fretageot and W. V. Mangrum. This was the official

guide to the town during the recent centennial celebration. It has sixty-six pages and forty-seven illustrations. The interesting sights, buildings and characters of the old town are described and a brief biography of the leading persons given. For the facts of New Harmony history it is a valuable little book.

THE *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October has several articles of exceptional value, chief of which is the "Fur Trade Operations in the Eastern Iowa Country From 1800 to 1833," by Jacob Van der Zee. Writers are giving considerable attention to the influence of the fur trade on the settlement and early history of the western country. It furnished the ready money to the first generation of settlers. Besides this the hunters and trappers being the first in the field did the exploring and thus opened up routes to the settlers, in large measure directing the line of settlement.

THE *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September contains articles by Milo M. Quaife, Wilbur H. Siebert, William O. Scroggs, Isaac J. Clark and Dan E. Clark, all well-known to the historical fraternity of the northwest. Dr. Quaife's article is a criticism on the sources of western history. The writer has dealt especially with the travelers. The article is a timely warning to those writers who have been using such books freely as source material. Professor Cox continues along his familiar line of the history of the Southwest.

THE *History Teachers' Magazine* for October has a brief article by O. H. Williams on "The History Teacher as Viewed by the History Student." The following quotation from the article is worth keeping in mind at present when it seems that the "laying on" of work constitutes the important function of the teacher: "To cultivate a taste for historical reading, to create interest in the cultural and humanistic aspects of history, to kindle a passion for the fascinating story of human-kind, constitute far more vital educational results for the adolescent of the secondary school than can come from mere drill."

THE *North Carolina Booklet* for July contains three articles. The one that is of most significance in a general way is "The State of Franklin," by Captain S. A. Ashe. The other articles are "Heraldry and Its Usage in the Colony of North Carolina," by Mary

Hilliard Hinton, and a genealogical biography of Sir Richard Everard, by Marshall DeLancey Haywood.

THE *Magazine of History* has in its February-March issue a number of interesting pioneer sketches. Among them are "Pittsburg in 1828, as Seen by Anne Royal"; "An Emigrant's Chances in New Hampshire, 1821"; "Historic Natchez", and "Lincoln's Route to Illinois in 1830."

THE *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* for September has a valuable contribution to western history in an article on "The First Three Catholic Churches in Zanesville," Ohio, by Robert J. J. Harkins. The oldest of these churches will reach its century mark in 1818.

THE *Missouri Historical Review* for July, 1914, contains Major Alphonso Wetmore's "Diary of a Journey to Santa Fe in 1828." Major Wetmore was a paymaster in the Sixth Regiment, United States Infantry. While stationed in Missouri he became interested in the Santa Fe trade, in which he later engaged. The account is in the form of a diary and gives details of the trip from day to day.

THE *Indianapolis Star* during August published a series of articles by R. C. Buley, of the history department of the Delphi high school, on the organization of the Republican party in Indiana.

THE *Fowler Tribune*, October 1, has an article on the early history of Benton county by Jesse S. Birch, formerly editor of the *Oxford Gazette*. Mr. Birch is interested in Benton county history. He has collected data for a county history.

THE *Princeton Clarion-News* of September 24, 1914, contains another article by Col. Gil Stormont on the political campaigns of Gibson county during the Civil War. This article deals especially with the political activities of the Sons of Liberty. In the October 27th issue the subject is continued, the author discussing the campaign of 1864.

THE *Brownstown Banner*, October 7, has a four-column account of the Presbyterian church of that place which, at that time, was celebrating its seventy-fifth anniversary. The New Albany Presbytery, at its last meeting, took steps looking toward a centennial

celebration of its establishment in southern Indiana. As a result of this many of the individual congregations are becoming interested in their own history. The article mentioned above has some valuable historical material for the local history of Jackson county.

THE Winamac *Democrat-Journal* celebrated its fifty-seventh birthday in August. It was founded in 1857 by Dr. F. B. Thomas and H. P. Rowan. The present proprietor, M. H. Ingram, bought it for \$500, February 16, 1855. It was then a six-column folio, printed on a Smith hand-press. The materials had been brought overland from Francesville, where they had been shipped from the Ohio river over the old New Albany and Salem railroad. The various editors have had some thrilling experiences with drunken Pottawattomie Indians, as well as with the military officials in Civil War times.

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